

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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THREE OBSCURE ENGLISH PROVERBS

Of the proverbs discussed here, the first is not traceable to a period earlier than the fourteenth century; the second and third appear to have been commonplaces from very early times.

1. *The game is not worth the candle.*

The earliest citation of this proverb in Apperson¹ is dated 1640; ODEP,² however, traces it to 1603, when Florio translated Montaigne's *Le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle* (*Ess.* II, xvii) as "The play is not worth the candle." *NED* (*s. v.* Candle, II. f.) labels the proverb "of French origin" and refers to Cotgrave, who in 1611 explained it in English: "It will not quit cost; there will be nothing got by him that toyles, or deales, in it."³ There can be little doubt that it goes back to a much earlier stage in the history of gaming in both England and France. As early as 1550

¹ *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases* (London, 1929), p. 242.

² *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, compiled by W. G. Smith and J. E. Heseltine (Oxford, 1935), p. 439. The 1948 edition of this work, which appeared after this article was accepted for publication, notes a slightly earlier occurrence of the proverb in 1602, in *The Jesuits' Catechism* (27b: "As good fellowes vse to say, The sport is worthy of a candle").

³ The 1660 and later editions of Cotgrave add nothing new. With Cotgrave's "Brusler la chandelle par les deux bouts. To wast, or spend, things disorderedly; to squander hee cares not how, nor what; also (but lesse properly) to play the micher, nigardize it, goe very neerely to worke," compare lines 203-4 in Deschamps's *Dit du Gieu*:

Que tu n' as deux coups pour tes velles
Et deux coiffes pour tes chandelles.

Crowley wrote in his *Way to Wealth*:⁴ "Intendynge, therefore, to playe the parte of a true Englyshman, and to do all that in me shall ly to plucke thys stincking wede [sedition] vp by the rote, I shal in thys good busines do as, in their euell exercise, the displayers (that haue nothyng to playe for . . .) do:—Holde the candle to them that haue wherewyth, and wyll sette lustily to it." The proverb may even have been known to Chaucer and the French-speaking courts of his day, for in Deschamps's *Dit du Gieu des Dez*,⁵ which points out, more directly than does Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*, that "Hasard is verray mooder of lesynges" and "Gret sweryng is a thyng abhominable,"⁶ there are half a dozen references to candles and their uses (and abuses) by dice-players.⁷ Similar, and of the same period, is the proverb *Gieu endommageaux ne vault rien*, occurring in the collection entitled *Bonum Spatium* (Bibl. Nat. MS Lat. 10360), which "semble remonter à la 2^e moitié du XIV^e siècle."⁸ I can find no evidence that candles were used similarly by dice-players in earlier centuries. In any event, there is every reason to believe that Archer Taylor's explanation of this "unexplained allusion"⁹ is close to the truth.

2. *He that will swear will lie.*

Apperson gives as the earliest English occurrence, in 1630, the first line of a quatrain in Taylor's *Wit and Mirth*:¹⁰

⁴ Ed. Cowper, EETS. ES xv (1872), 131, lines 15-22.

⁵ Ed. Raynaud, SATF, VII (1891), 253-65.

⁶ *Canterbury Tales*, C 591 and 63. With the Pardoner's "outrageous" oaths (lines 651-55) compare Deschamps's lines 155 ff. *et passim*; with Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale* 124-25 compare lines 84-87.

⁷ See lines 157, 195, 204, 279, 282, 306.

⁸ J. Morawski, *Proverbes Français Antérieurs au XV^e Siècle* (Paris, 1925), pp. 36 (no. 988) and viii. On related proverbs see Morawski's comments in his article "Locutions at Proverbes Obscurs," *Romania* L (1924), 503.

⁹ Taylor, *The Proverb*, pp. 74-75: "as is more plausibly suggested, it refers to the fact that gamblers were required to pay for the candles to light the gambling rooms, and obviously the game was no longer worth the candle when the stakes became small." With this allusion to small stakes compare Crowley's reference (above) to dice-players "that haue nothyng to playe for."

¹⁰ Apperson, p. 613: "1630: Taylor (Water-Poet), *Workes*, 2nd pagin., 189." Not in ODEP ed. 1935, but ed. 1948 (see note 2 above) cites two

The prouerbe saies, hee that will *sweare* will *lie*,
 He that will *lie* will *steale* by consequence:
Swearers are *lyers*, *lyers* most are *thieues*,
 Or God helpe *Iaylors*, and true *Vndershriues*.

Earlier, about 1622,¹¹ the Clown in Rowley's *Birth of Merlin* (II. i. 29) remarked: "Swearing and lying goes together still." Although neither form is given by Cotgrave, the proverb appears to have come from France; where it occurred as early as the fourteenth century in the poem by Deschamps already named above, in the form *Maint mentent qui jurent*.¹² Still earlier, lines 18136-37 of the *Roman de la Rose* hint at Jean de Meun's familiarity with the proverb:

Plus hardiement que nus on
 Certainement jurent e mentent.¹³

But even then the proverb had been of long standing: witness the Latin *Qui facile jurat, facile perjurat*¹⁴ as well as Cicero's *Qui mentiri solet, peierare consuevit*.¹⁵

3. *Life is a pilgrimage.*

According to ODEP, this proverb (not cited by Apperson) first appeared in English in 1579, in Lyly's *Euphues*, in the form: *the whole course of life is but a meditation of death, a pilgrymage, a warfare*.¹⁶ It occurs again earlier in the same work: *our lyfe is*

earlier variants: 1601 ("Swearing and lying, be of very neare kindred") and 1606 ("Who knowes not lying and swearing are partners").

¹¹ According to Fleay, and accepted by Tucker Brooke, *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, p. xlvi.

¹² Ed. Raynaud, VII, 262, line 273. The proverbial nature of the saying was overlooked by Whiting in his "Proverbs in Deschamps" (Appendix A, *Chaucer's Use of Proverbs*, pp. 207-242), as well as by Erich Fehse, *Sprichwört und Sentenz bei Eustache Deschamps* (Erlangen, 1905), pp. 21-22.

¹³ Ed. Langlois, SATF, IV, 216. Langlois offers no comment on this passage.

¹⁴ Strafforello, *La Sapienza del Mondo ovvero Dizionario Universale dei Proverbi di Tutti i Popoli* (Torino, 1883), II, 237. On the Latin use of *perjurare* "*pro mentiri, simpliciter*," see Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, s. v. *Periuro* 2, p. 553.

¹⁵ *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo Oratio*, XVI, 46. Cf. the Italian *Soventi giurare fa spesso spergiurare* (Strafforello, II, 237).

¹⁶ Arber reprint, p. 181, as cited in ODEP, p. 262. For sixteenth-

but a shadow, a warfare, a pilgrimage.¹⁷ Both of Lyly's definitions of life are, of course, composites, the equation with warfare occurring in versified form in Italian:

La vita dell' uom su questa terra
Altro non a chè una continua guerra.¹⁸

Another early composite (not cited in ODEP) appeared in 1597 in *Politeuphuia, Wit's Commonwealth* (I, 169): *Life is a pilgrimage, a shadow of joy, a glasse of infirmitie, and the perfect pathway to death.*¹⁹ But, like the other elements in these composites, the equation of life with a pilgrimage²⁰ was in existence in England long before the sixteenth century, for it was no doubt in Chaucer's mind when in the *Knight's Tale*, soon after Arcite's dying outburst on the pathos of human mortality, in which he asks, "What is this world? what asketh men to have?", Theseus observes:

This world nys but a thurghfare ful of wo,
And we been pilgrymes, passynge to and fro.²¹

Chaucer's phrase "a thurghfare ful of wo,"²² like the currently familiar "vale of tears," had no doubt become a stock expression through such visions as that of Tundale, which was extremely popular for two centuries before Chaucer and was translated from

century instances, see M. P. Tilley, *Elizabethan Proverb Lore* (New York, 1926), pp. 206-07.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

¹⁸ Strafforello, III, 762. Boccaccio employs the rime *terra—guerra* frequently in both the *Teseide* and the *Filostrato*, though neither poem is the source of the Italian couplet.

¹⁹ Part I, commonly attributed to Bodenham, was probably edited by Nicholas Ling (London, 1597).

²⁰ Related to this comparison, but later, are Breton's "The world is a long journey" (1616: *Crossing of Proverbs*, Part II, App. iii) and Herbert's "The life of man is a winter way" (1640: *Jacula Prudentum*, 2nd ed., 1651).

²¹ *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. Robinson, pp. 52-53, lines 2777, 2847-48. The sententious nature of these lines has not been noted by Whiting, *Chaucer's Use of Proverbs*, pp. 78-83, 169.

²² Compare

Thys world is butt a chery flare,
Replett with sorow & fulfylld with care

(F. A. Patterson, *Middle English Penitential Lyric*, New York 1911, p. 101, no. 35, lines 24-25) and the comparison (1559) in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Campbell, p. 237: "as a chery fayre ful of wo."

Latin into French, German, Norse, Irish, and other languages.²³ The vision of Tundale was admittedly²⁴ written under the influence of St. Bernard, for whom the world "had no meaning save as a place of banishment and trial, in which men are but 'strangers and pilgrims.'" ²⁵

The expanded form of the proverb in Chaucer, for which Boccaccio's *Teseide* offered no source,²⁶ is due in part to the metrical needs of the poet.²⁷ Robinson believes that "the familiar figure of the pilgrimage is perhaps scriptural" ²⁸ and refers to Hebrews

²³ A. Wagner, *Visio Tundali* (Erlangen, 1882); *Tundale, das mittelhochdeutsche Gedicht* (Halle a. S., 1893); Friedel and Meyer, *La Vision de Tondale* (Paris, 1907). With the "vale tenebrouse" of the French texts (= Irish "glenn úathmar") compare the ME. version (c. 1400), which renders the phrase "thys sorowfull vale / Of trowbull of woo and of hevynes." The phrasing of the *Visio Tnudgali*, written in 1149 by the Irish Marcus, is to be traced in turn to the Vulgate (or Old Latin?) *dolor et gemitus* of Isaiah xxxv, 10 and the *stridor dentium* of Matthew and Luke. Edmund Spenser employed the medieval figure when, translating the *Ætiochus* (note 35 below), he expanded ἀπαλλάττονσι τοῦ ξῆν (literally "release from life"; Welsdalius: [*citius*] è vita subducunt) into "take out of this vale of wretchednes." Everywhere the translation reverberates with Spenserian phrases, such as this and "madding multitude," "rascal rout," "idle losels," and the almost Chaucerian "wavering will of the witless many" (cf. *Clerk's Tale*, 995-1001, etc.).

²⁴ Friedel and Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. xii.

²⁵ *Encycl. Brit.*, 14 ed., s. v. Bernard. See Mabillon, *Sancti Bernardi Opera Omnia* (Milan, 1851), II, 155-57: Sermo VII, "De peregrino," which quotes Heb. xiii, 14; Ps. xxxviii, 13 [= xxxix, 12] *Quoniam advens ego sum apud te et peregrinus, sicut omnes patres mei*; Ephes. ii, 19 (*Iam non estis hospites et advenae*, etc.) also II, 112-18: In Epiphania, Sermo, I, beginning *Gratias Deo, per quem sic abundat consolatio nostra in hac peregrinatione, in hoc exilio, in hac miseria*.

²⁶ See H. M. Cummings, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to the Italian Works of Boccaccio* (1916), pp. 131-146; cf. *Teseide* XI, 11. With Arcite's question and Theseus's "response" compare Modesta's lines in *The Birth of Merlin* (III. ii. 38-44): "What's this world . . . but a sad passage . . . ?"

²⁷ Cf. Hoepffner's comment (*Oeuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, SATF, III, iii) on Machaut's *Confort d'Ami*, whose connection with Chaucer's *Monk's Tale* I discuss elsewhere: "Tantôt, mais plus rarement, il amplifie . . . Les divergences s'expliquent en partie par les nécessités de la versification . . ."

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 785, note on line 2847. Compare also Chaucer's balade of *Truth*, lines 17-20. With Robinson's mention of Heb. xi, 13 f. compare Heb. xiii, 14, cited by Bernard (note 25 above).

xi, 13 f. But a closer resemblance to the figure may be found in the Vulgate version²⁹ of Ecclesiastes vii, 1, which suggests the source for both the "shadow" and "pilgrimage" equations in *Euphues* and in *Wit's Commonwealth*:

Quid necesse est homini maiora se quaerare, cum ignoret quid conducat sibi in vita sua numero dierum peregrinationis suae, et tempore quod velut umbra praeterit?

The equations with warfare and the pilgrimage, on the other hand, are combined by Marcus Aurelius in a commentary on mundane uncertainty: "Life is a warfare and a pilgrim's sojourn."³⁰ Somewhat earlier is Plutarch's description of men as *peregrini et hospites*;³¹ later is Gregory's similar comparison, *Vita nostra nauiganti similis est*.³² That the figure of the pilgrimage was a commonplace long before Marcus Aurelius or Plutarch is clear from the commentary in Erasmus's *Adagia*:³³

Vita hominis peregrinatio.

Παρεπιδημία τίς ἐστίν ὁ βίος, id est, Peregrinatio quaedam est vita. Socrates in Axiocho Platonis adfert hanc sententiam, vt vulgo apud omnes

²⁹ Cf. also Eccles. xvi, 15: *Omnis misericordia faciet locum unicuique, secundum meritum operum suorum, et secundum intellectum peregrinationis ipsius*. The ultimate source may be not, or not only, the Vulgate but an Old-Latin pre-Hieronymian version.

³⁰ As translated by Haines (Loeb Classical Library), II, 17, p. 41: ὁ δὲ βίος πόλεμος καὶ ξένον ἐπιδημία. It is not necessary to suppose that Marcus was indebted to the *Axiochus* for his Platonic reliance upon Philosophy as the only help, as it was a commonplace in his day.

³¹ Plutarch, *Moralia* (Basel, 1552), p. 93 d; see also index: *Peregrini & hospites in hoc mundo omnes homines sumus*.

³² Domenico Nani Mirabelli, *Polyanthea* (Venetijs, 1507), p. 215v, col. 1. For the attribution to "Gregorius .i. Registri" see Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vols. 75-79. For this and the reference to Plutarch I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. James L. Jackson.

³³ Ed. 1574, p. 828 (= ed. 1612, p. 1105, no. 74; ed. 1703, p. 1177), Chil. iv, Cent. x. Not to be found in the earliest editions during Erasmus's lifetime, ed. 1520 (which ends, pp. 301r-303r, "Erasmi Proverbiorum Quartae Chiliadis Centuria Quinta, sed imperfecta") and 1530, or in ed. 1548 (which continues into Centuria vii). In strong contrast with the proverb is the philosophic comment of Erasmus in *Apophthegmatum Opus* (Lutetiae, 1547), p. 149: *Dicenti miserum esse uiuere: Non, inquit, miserum est, sed male uiuere miserum est. Vulgus miseram appellat uitam, laboribus, doloribus, morbis, damnis, exilijs, multisque hoc genus incommodis obnoxiam. At philosophus nihil malum aut miserum esse ducebat, nisi quod cum turpitudine coniunctum esset*.

decantatam. Quanquam is dialogus habetur inter nothos. Videtur esse potius hominis Christiani, qui Platonem voluerit imitari. Haec enim sententia frequenter occurrit in sacris voluminibus, Vitam hanc esse exilium, esse incolatum & peregrinationem: quanquam & Socrates Platonius narrat animas hominum e coelo fuisse delapsas, quo sibi per philosophiae studium parant reditum.

In the Platonic dialogue, which Erasmus quotes accurately enough, the saying is already, about three centuries before Christ, spoken of as a "familiar enough commonplace."³⁴ And in 1592 Edmund Spenser recognized it as a commonplace in English when he translated the *Ætiochus*: "and lastly should mooue thee that common saying, which is worne in all mens mouths; That this our life is a Pilgrimage . . ." ³⁵

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³⁴ As translated by E. H. Blakeney, *The Ætiochus* (London, 1937), p. 22.

³⁵ *The Ætiochus of Plato translated by Edmund Spenser*, ed. F. M. Padelford (Baltimore, 1934), p. 42. For the Greek and Latin texts see p. 69, lines 4 ff. The Latin reads: *et tritum illud ac apud omnes per-uagatum considerabis, Quod vita nostra sit peregrinatio quaedam*, etc. Spenser's revision of his translation of the *Ætiochus* (in 1591?) may well have influenced the writing of lines 372-73 of the *Daphnida* (on the date of which see *Variorum Spenser, Minor Poems*, I [1943], 435-38):

For I will walke this wandring pilgrimage,
Throughout the world from one to other end.

Cf. also *Daphn.* 456, "whilest I in this wretched vale do stay" (note 23 above); with the "threads" of *Daphn.* 17 compare *Ax.* "how wretched a thread of life" (p. 49, line 5), etc. But on "the hardship of the earthly pilgrimage" as a "constantly recurring subject in Tudor literature," see Padelford's introduction, p. 29. Despite the arguments of Freyd and Swan, there seems to be no valid reason, in my opinion, for doubting that Spenser was the translator of the 1592 *Ætiochus*. The poet later found in Socrates and *Ætiochus* ("True indeed O Socrates . . .") apt models for his *Irenius* and *Eudoxus* ("You say very true . . .," an opening used seven times by *Irenius*).

Since this note was accepted for publication, the appearance of Spenser's *Prose Works* in the ninth volume of the *Variorum Spenser* (Baltimore, 1949) makes it possible to read the *Ætiochus* with comfort, although Padelford's edition will continue to be valuable for the Greek and Latin texts. The new editor, Professor Gottfried, argues eloquently for Spenser's authorship, though he does not note all the parallels. The opening phrase "Marry, I will tell you" is natural for *Irenius* but anachronistic for Socrates. The pun in Socrates' "dew debt to death," based on *Welsdalius's debitum vitam* (*Ax.* 163), recalls the contemporary pun with which Falstaff begins his famous catechism (*1 Henry IV.*, v. i. 26-27).

CHAUCER ALLUSIONS IN THE LETTERS OF SIR WALTER SCOTT

When in 1935 I was writing the Celtic and Arthurian notes to the Ellis letters¹ for Sir Herbert Grierson, I thought to call attention to the frequent allusions made by Scott to Chaucer and his poetry.² But other matters intervened. Since in the meanwhile no one else has done so, I set down here, with a minimum of comment, the Chaucer allusions to be found in Volumes I and XII of the *Letters*, based largely upon marginal notes which I entered at the time in my set of galley proofs. My renewed interest in the subject has "spurred the lated traveler apace" to exhume the other Chaucer allusions which lie buried in the pages of the remaining ten volumes (unfortunately undindexed). In addition, I give in their chronological order two further allusions by the poets Wordsworth and Southey from the *Letter-Books*.³

I, 24. LETTER TO WILLIAM CLERK, Sept. 30, 1792.⁴ "The inhabitants of this country ['about Hexham'] speak an odd dialect of the Saxon, approaching nearly that of Chaucer, and have retained some customs peculiar to themselves."

XII, 177. LETTER TO GEORGE ELLIS, March 27, 1801. "Permit me to state a query to you about Sir Gawaine. *Our Traditions &*

¹ Grierson, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, XII (London, 1937), 175-340. On the finding of the Ellis letters ("alas! too late for our first volume"), see VII, vii f.

² Schulz, "Sir Walter Scott and Chaucer," *MLN*, XXVIII (1913), 246-47, has commented upon Scott's penchant for extensive misquotation from the poet he admired so greatly.

³ Partington, *The Private Letter-Books of Sir Walter Scott* (London, 1930), hereafter abbreviated LB. In view of the late date (1825) at which Scott began writing his *Journal* (ed. Douglas, 1891, and more recently by Tait, 1939—), it is not surprising that the *Journal* contains only one mention of Chaucer, listed here under 1826, and already cited in Spurgeon (II, 163).

⁴ This allusion (when Scott was 21) antedates by twelve years Miss Spurgeon's first citation from Scott, which is drawn from his review of Ellis's *Specimens* in 1804 (Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*, II, 16).

father Chaucer himself represent him as the flower of Courtesy.⁵ On the contrary the *Morte Arthur* & other French Romances & translations stigmatize him as a foul Murderer of Women & of disarmd knights—a worthy Brother in short of the Traitor Modred. How comes this?"

I, 114. LETTER TO GEORGE ELLIS, May 11, 1801. "... pray observe that the tale of Sir Gawain's Foul Ladie, in Percy's *Reliques*, is originally Scaldic, as you will see in the history of Hrolfe Kraka, edited by Torfaeus from the ancient Sagas regarding that prince."⁶

I, 114-115. "... for valour eke and courtesy." Perhaps an allusion to *RR* 957, "With valour and with curtesye." Spurgeon offers nothing to suggest that Scott was familiar with *RR*. See footnote 5 above.

XII, 201. LETTER TO GEORGE ELLIS, Oct. 22, 1801. "I now send with two additional sheets of *Arthour* a packet of *Sir Gy* which is except perhaps *Bevis of Hampton* the dullest Romance of priis⁷

⁵ Scott may have had in mind not only Chaucer's mention of Gawain "with his olde curteisey" in *SqT* 95 but also the unnamed hero of *WBT* ("of Sir Gawain's Foul Ladie," I, 114 below). He may even have been thinking of *RR* 2209-10:

"As fer as Gaweyn, the worthy,
Was praised for his curtesy"

(cf. ed. Langlois, *SATF*, lines 2093-94).

⁶ See B. J. Whiting in *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, p. 223, and Robinson's note in *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, p. 807: "The close connexion of Chaucer's tale with the Irish has hardly been proved, though a Celtic, and specifically Irish, derivation for the English group remains a reasonable theory. The possibility of a French intermediary . . . must also still be recognized." On Scott's theory of a "Scaldic" origin, see G. H. Maynadier, who devotes a chapter (in *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, pp. 43-64) to "Norse parallels" and concludes: "though the English tales may have come from some Icelandic source now lost, it is beyond the bounds of probability that they could have come from one very like any of the Icelandic tales we have looked at." See my footnotes 1 and 3 in *Letters*, XII, 182.

⁷ Scott, quoting briefly from Chaucer's tale of *Thopas* (B 2087-89), would have gladly permitted the Host to stint Chaucer of the *Guy* or the *Bevis* (both of which are named by Chaucer)—but not of the *Thopas*. There can be no question of Scott's familiarity (see *Letters*, XII, 214 below) with Chaucer's fragment of "rime doggerel"; when he wrote (*Letters*, XII, 4): "I am carried about on a pony to which I do not climb like Spenser's

which I ever attempted to peruse. I think nothing but national prejudice could have elevated it to the situation of eminence in which it is placed by Chaucer, it may serve however to show in what an ineffable degree our Ancestors possessed the virtue of patience or at least how heavy their time must have hung upon their hands."

XII, 206. LETTER FROM ELLIS TO SCOTT, Dec. 14, 1801. "Your having so nearly fixed the date of Thomas's death is very curious & that date proves that Barber was, on your side of the Tweed, nearly as great a benefactor to the English language as Chaucer on this side. How very little do we understand the literary history of that period!"

XII, 214. LETTER TO GEORGE ELLIS, Jan. 8, 1802. "I will most certainly extract for you the combat of Gy with Colbrand. It is told in the same stanza with the rhyme of Sir Thopas whereas the first part of Sir Gys history is in couplets."

I, 216. Grierson's note, LETTER TO GEORGE ELLIS, March 19, 1804. "In 1803 [Godwin] brought out a *Life of Chaucer*, which Scott reviewed in lively style in the *Edinburgh Review*. 'The authenticated passages of Chaucer's life may be comprised in half a dozen pages; and behold two voluminous volumes.' Scott goes on to illustrate the kind of padding which produced this result. Godwin has discovered only one new fact, that Chaucer gave evidence in a case of heraldry between Scrope and Grosvenor."⁸

XII, 248. LETTER FROM ELLIS TO SCOTT, May 10, 1804. Foot-note: "On the 10th Ellis affirms that there is only one person whose talent as a reviewer 'perfectly meets my ideas of perfection, and he is the author of the critique on the Amadis & on Godwin's Chaucer'." In his letter of May 16, Scott denies the authorship: "You have mistaken the author of the critique on the Specimens

[sic] champions," he may have had Thopas (B 1987) in mind as well as Prince Arthur or Britomart or Scudamour: see *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, Variorum Edition, IV (1935), 199, note to *Faerie Queene* IV. v. 46. 1.

⁸ For other references by Scott to Godwin's *Life*, see Spurgeon, II, 16-19, especially 17-18.

in the ponderous & square review—I offerd my services but another person had prepared the article.”⁹

I, 224. LETTER TO GEORGE ELLIS, Aug. 1, 1804. “I had to superintend a removal, or what we call a *flitting*, which, of all bores under the cope of Heaven, is bore the most tremendous.” Perhaps a reminiscence of LGW 1527, where according to NED the phrase “under the cope of heaven” first appears in literature, no other occurrence being earlier than 1489. Spurgeon offers no allusion by Scott to LGW.

I, 259. LETTER TO GEORGE ELLIS, about Sept. 5, 1805. “As for the British Poets, my plan was greatly too liberal to stand the least chance of being adopted by the trade at large, as I wished them to begin with Chaucer.” (This is the only citation from an Ellis letter to be found in Spurgeon: see II, 25.)

XII, 289. LETTER TO RICHARD HEBER, Aug. 18, 1806. “Once more if you are upon what Chaucer calls the *Viretote* do extend your rambles hither.” See the footnote: “*Viretote*. An unsettled state or condition. c 1386 Chaucer *Miller’s T.* 584 (Ellesm.), What eyleth yow? som gay gerl, god it woot, Hath broght yow thus up on the viritoot . . . 1822 Scott *Nigel* xviii, Here you come on the viretot, through the whole streets of London, etc.—N.E.D.”¹⁰

I, 354. LETTER TO ANNA SEWARD, Feb. 20, 1807. “My admiration of Chaucer Spenser and Dryden does not blind me to their faults for I see the coarsness of the first the tediousness occasioned by the continued allegory of the second and the inequalities of the last but my dear Miss Seward ‘in these days were giants in the land’ and we are but dwarfs beside them.”¹¹

LB, p. 64. LETTER FROM WORDSWORTH TO SCOTT, Jan. 18, 1808. “I am curious to see your notes on Dryden’s political Poems, which are in my opinion, far the best of his works, though there

⁹ For a similar denial see *Letters*, II, 237: “Ellis fixes on me an article about Miss Edgeworth’s *Tales* which I never saw. I have nothing in the last Rev[ie]w.” Cf. further II, 510.

¹⁰ Miss Spurgeon missed this allusion in *Nigel*, though she records another: see her *Allusions*, II, 139.

¹¹ Scott’s quotation from *Genesis* is, like many of his citations from Chaucer, Shakespeare, and others, inaccurate: see note 2 above.

is very great merit in his two translations from Boccaccio. Chaucer, I think, he has entirely spoiled, even wantonly deviating from his great original, and always for the worse." In 1805 Wordsworth had written to Scott in much the same vein: see Spurgeon, II, 26.

XII, 412. LETTER TO THOMAS EAGLES, Dec. 8, 1811. "Stoddart [*sic*] some years ago painted a picture of Chaucer's pilgrims, which displayed much knowledge of costume."¹²

III, 34. LETTER TO JOANNA BAILLIE, Dec. 12, 1811. "While I was watching my infant or rather embryo oaks you have been wandering under the shade of those celebrated by Pope and Denham or in a still earlier age by Surrey and Chaucer. How often have you visited the site of Hearn's oak and call'd up the imaginary train of personages who fill the stage around it in representation? And was I obliged to your kindness or to that of George Ellis for a bag of acorns from Windsor forest which reached me a few days ago?"¹³

IV, 225. LETTER TO MATTHEW HARTSTONGE, Apr. 30, 1816. "I have also to thank you for Swift's verses on Chaucer,¹⁴ the tone and character of which remind one of his two celebrated prophecies on Marlborough's successes and on The Peace of Utrecht and Lady

¹² On this point William Blake would have refused to concur with Scott. He concluded his *Descriptive Catalogue* (1809) with a sweeping denunciation of Stothard's painting and prospectus: "All is misconceived, and its mis-execution is equal to its misconception." On Stothard see Spurgeon, II, 164-65 and Appendix A, p. 106, where we are told that "the chief ornament" in Scott's study at Abbotsford was a print of Stothard's "Pilgrimage."

¹³ Scott was writing from Edinburgh. In view of his fondness for quoting Shakespeare, it is perhaps surprising that he does not associate the great Bard with Herne's Oak (celebrated in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, to which Scott alludes again only a few months later: see note 17 below) in the Home Park at Windsor. That Scott was extremely familiar with the play is attested by his frequent allusions to Sir Hugh Evans, Mistress Anne Page, Shallow, and Slender, not to mention Pistol and Nym.

¹⁴ See Spurgeon, II, 65, extract from Scott's *Memoirs of Jonathan Swift* (1814). For this allusion see also Symington, *Some Unpublished Letters of Sir Walter Scott* (Oxford, 1932).

Somerset;¹⁵ the first beginning 'Seven and One added to nine' and the other I forget exactly how."

v, 124. LETTER TO J. W. CROKER, Sept. 1, 1816. "I intend to go or send to Liddesdale in this month and I trust to find a proper female for my dog; and I hope I shall play¹⁶ the part of Sir Pandarus of Troy with good success." (Did Scott have in mind Chaucer's poem¹⁷ or Shakespeare's play, or both?)

v, 163. LETTER TO DANIEL TERRY, June 17, 1818. "We are anxious to have the windows as well as the frames [at Abbotsford] for we should be *foulyly shent* by a severe storm." This specific quotation from the *Friar's Tale* (D 1312) offers convincing evidence of Scott's familiarity with Chaucer's *fabliau*, to which Spurgeon offers no allusion.

v, 212. LETTER TO JOHN MORRITT, Nov. 5, 1818. "This is a rainy day and my present infliction is an idle cousin a great amateur of the pipes who is performing incessantly in the next room for the benefit of a probationary minstrel whose pipes scream a la distance as the young hoarse cock-chicken imitates the gallant and triumphant screech of a Veteran Sir Chaunticlear."¹⁸

vi, 441. LETTER TO JOHN BALLANTYNE, May 14, 1821. "... he really is working like a Trojan true of kind—." See Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, v, 124-26, also 920. (Scott's use of the

¹⁵ "The Windsor Prophecy, privately printed at the time." [Grierson.]

¹⁶ For the same verb see *Twelfth Night*, III. i. 57-58: "I would play Lord Pandarus."

¹⁷ Scott's familiarity with Chaucer's *Troilus* is seen in his scathing review of Godwin's *Life of Chaucer*: "[Godwin] exclaims against Chaucer for 'polluting the portrait of Creseide's virgin character' . . . If Mr. Godwin had perused the poem attentively, he would have seen that no joke was intended, and that Creseide was no maiden, but in fact a young widow." In support, Scott specifically quotes *TC* I, 97, and II, 113-14, 117-19, printing the last lines in italics.

Closer to Scott's phrasing than anything in Chaucer is the question directed by Pistol to Nym: "Shall I Sir Pandarus of Troy become?" (*Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. iii. 83). Cf. footnote 13 above.

¹⁸ For praise bestowed by Scott on the *Nun's Priest's Tale* ("a poem which, in grave, ironical narrative, liveliness of illustration, and happiness of humorous description, yields to none that ever was written"), see Spurgeon, II, 41.

proverbial phrase "like a Trojan" antedates by more than thirty years any of those listed in Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, p. 646.)

VIII, 17. LETTER TO JAMES BALLANTYNE, June 12, 1823. "On Tuesday I will call at the office and talk over these letters which neither surprize nor dismay me.

"The Mouse who only trusts to one poor hole
Can never be a Mouse of any soul."

The couplet is slightly misquoted from Pope's "translation" of the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, 298-99. For Chaucer's lines in the original, see D 572-74:

"I holde a mouses herte nat worth a leek
That hath but oon hole for to sterte to,
And if that faille, thanne is al ydo."

See further Grierson's note quoting Cadell's letter to Constable.

VIII, 109. LETTER TO RICHARD HEBER, Oct. 29, 1823. Scott's son Walter is "just the sort of fellow who is in his element in the military . . . a fine person and just the stuff out of which would have been made in former days

"A verie parfite gentle knight."

JOURNAL, Dec. 16, 1825. ". . . to make a virtue of necessity." The phrase, which occurs three times in Chaucer (*KnT* A 3042; *SqT* F 593; *TC* iv, 1586, and according to *NED* nowhere else earlier than 1581) may or may not be a Chaucer allusion. To Scott it may possibly have been merely a well-known proverb, as indeed it may already have been when Chaucer used it.

JOURNAL, Jan. 11, 1826. "James is in an awful stew, and I cannot blame him; but then he should consider the *hyascyamus* which I was taking, and the anxious botheration about the money-market. However, as Chaucer says:

'There is na workeman
That can bothe wirken wel and hastilie;
This must be done at leisure parfairly.'

The passage, with Scott's characteristic alteration, is drawn from *MchT*, E 1832-34. (The only allusion listed in Spurgeon which attests Scott's familiarity with this tale.)

JOURNAL, May 13, 1827. "... those who linger on their wayfare through this valley of tears . . . What is this world? A dream within a dream—as we grow older each step is an awakening . . . The Grave the last sleep?—no; it is the last and final awakening." Apparently a reminiscence of *KnT* A 2777-79, 2847-49, confused with Wordsworth's *Intimations Ode* (1802-06). See Scott's citation of the same lines from *KnT*: Spurgeon II, 139.

X, 366. LETTER TO WILLIAM GIBB, Jan. 25, 1828. "I must say myself that from studying the early compositions both of English and Scottish authors I could never detect any thing which marked a distinct difference of language between the countries though each no doubt may have some expressions peculiar to itself. You may satisfy yourself by comparing the poetry of Chaucer with that of Dunbar."¹⁹

LB, p. 83. LETTER FROM SOUTHEY TO SCOTT, July 9, 1831. "Methinks it will be one of the pleasures of the next world, in some of our first stages there, to fall in with a good arrival from this. What a pleasant meeting shall you and I have with Chaucer and others of the venerable antient song-enditers!"

One conclusion seems obvious. Ellis, whom Scott called "a particular friend of mine" and "the best converser I ever knew,"²⁰ appears to have been in some measure responsible for keeping alive Scott's interest in Chaucer. Between 1801 and 1805, when their correspondence was at its height, Scott's allusions to Chaucer were relatively frequent, one third of the total number being found in his letters to Ellis; later, as the influence of Ellis waned, they became fitful and spasmodic, the remainder²¹ being scattered over the 27-year period from 1806 to Scott's death.

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¹⁹ See Scott's later letter to David Laing [x, 495] for his opinion of "such a classic as Dunbar." On Dunbar as "the greatest" of the Chaucerians, see Henderson, *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, pp. 185-6. Cf. further Spurgeon, II, 176.

²⁰ Lockhart, *Life*, IV, 588; *Journal*, ed. Tait (1939), I, 222; *Letters*, II, 60-61, 436, *et passim*. Scott further spoke of Ellis as "a wonderful man, and the darling of his friends" (Lockhart, II, 261). See Grierson's Introduction, I, lxiv f.

²¹ Except for the earliest allusion (1792) printed above.

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY POETS
AND POETRY IN PIERRE RICHELET'S *LA*
VERSIFICATION FRANÇOISE (1672)

Boileau's *Art poétique* (1674) enjoyed such widespread and immediate success that the other works of the time which purported by their titles to deal with the same subject passed quickly and quietly into oblivion.¹ While Pierre Richelet's appearance on the literary scene might hardly be described as fleeting, his *La Versification françoise* (1672) proved no exception. Although the treatise provided a competent account of versification with pertinent critical comment and a brief history of French poetry, it soon paled before the greater glory,² but Richelet gave full measure of praise to the *Art poétique*, with which he was familiar at least two years before publication. He heartily recommends it at the beginning of *La Versification françoise*:

B. Despreaux a composé aussi une Poétique, mais elle est en vers. On n'a jusqu'icy rien veu de ce rare esprit ny de mieux tourné, ny de plus égayé que les Vers de sa Poétique. Je souhaiterois en faveur des gens de Lettres, qu'elle fût au jour (13).

It is apparent that Richelet entertained high hopes since he acknowledged only one other treatise as a rival to his own: Lancelot's *Quatre traitez de poésies: latine, françoise, italienne et espagnole* (1663). This work handles the subject skilfully, Richelet avers, but does not preclude his own work because it is "un Corps de Poétique entier."³

¹ For an account of Boileau's reputation even before 1674, cf. Sister Marie Philip Haley, *Racine and the Art Poétique of Boileau*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938, 13-36.

² The publisher was Estienne Loyson, Paris. The *privilege* is dated August 7, 1669, and refers to the book as *L'Art Poétique de P. Richelet, Avocat en Parlement*. The *achevé d'imprimer* is dated September 24, 1671. Perhaps Boileau was influential enough by 1674 to obtain the obviously better title for his work and Richelet was obliged to content himself with the more prosaic title under which the book eventually appeared.

³ He merely indicates 7 other treatises, but speaks further of 7 additional writers. Du Bellay is "plein d'érudition." Pelletier offers "de judicieuses Remarques sur la Poésie." Ronsard is too brief and offers nothing of value except the advice that old and young poets should regard each other as

After a brief account of the poetry of the Middle Ages, in which he places Charlemagne in the Sixth Century and defines the *fabliau* as a "conte en vers ou en prose," Richelet speaks of the reign of Henri II when Du Bellay, Ronsard, Belleau, Baïf, and Jodelle opposed the old manner and inaugurated their own style based on Greek and Roman models. He notes that "quelque fois ils les imiterent en Esclaves." Under Henri III, Desportes preferred to fashion his work according to the Spanish and Italian pattern: ". . . il rendoit la versification Françoise plus agréable, and la tira de l'affectation de Science où Baïf, Ronsard, and les autres, l'avoient mise." Malherbe and his disciples under Henri IV and Louis XIII advanced "notre Poésie au degré de politesse et d'exactitude, où nous la considérons aujourd'hui." Voiture, whom he dates 1626, restored the *ballade* and the *rondeau*, and brought "je ne scay quoy de gay et de fin" to French poetry as Marot had done under François Ier. He concludes:

Voilà en gros l'Histoire de la Poésie Françoise, où le Burlesque et les Bouts-rimeux ont depuis M. Voiture apporté un peu de changement; mais cela n'a pas esté de duré.⁴

father and son. Vaquelin de la Fresnaye did "en vers une Poétique très savante." Pierre de Deimer is "diffus, & ne dit rien." Colletet is "trop étendu, & il rebat trop la même chose." He is at his best when he speaks of the sonnet. La Mesnardière devotes too much space to argumentation with Castelvetro. Also, he would have done better not to publish his poetry. Then, appearing to contradict himself, Richelet states "son ouvrage est beau," especially his preface (10-13).

⁴ 5-9. Richelet draws up one list of the most famous "old" poets and another of the best known "moderns." The first list contains "l'Auteur de la Farce de Patelin," Alain Chartier, Octavien and Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Villon, Molinet, Cretin, Coquillart, Marot, Salel, Brodeau, Du Bartas, "& la plus part de ceux qui composent la Pleïde." The "moderns" are in two groups: Desportes, Regnier, Rapin, Jean Bertaut, Jean Lingendes, Malherbe, Théophile, François Maynard, Tristan l'Ermite, Rotrou, Malleville, Claude de l'Estoile, les frères Habert, Voiture, Pierre Patrix, Jean-François Sarasin, Saint-Amant, La Lane, Boisrobert, Georges de Scudéry, Scarron, Brébeuf, Gombaud, Racan, Saint-Pavin, Boileau. The second group includes Godeau, Arnaud d'Andilly, Gomberville, de Sacy, Chapelain, Desmarests, Corneille, le Moine, Maucroix, Racine, Benserade, Marigny, Monplaisir, Molière, Ménage, Segrais, Pellisson, Perrault, Ysarn, La Fontaine, Furetière, Cotin, Mme la Comtesse de la Suze, Mlle de Scudéry, and Mlle Desjardins. The "modern" group contains over fifty names, a considerable number in spite of the dramatists included when one reflects that the Seventeenth Century is not generally considered an age of poetry.

In his discussion of syllabification, Richelet credits Jean Antoine de Baïf (1532-1589), whose real attempt at poetic reform was the 15 syllable *vers baïfin*, with popularizing the Alexandrian and, along with Du Bellay and Du Bartas, with perfecting the 10 syllable line. He lists the types of poetry for which the Alexandrian is suited and presents extracts from the following: epic, Scudéry's *Alaric*; tragedy, Corneille's *Héraclius*; comedy, Desmarest's *Visionnaires*; satire, Boileau's eighth; eclogue, Godeau; elegy, Sarrasin; sonnet, Voiture's *Uranie*; epigram, Gombaud's epitaph for Malherbe (31-36). He finds examples of decemsyllabic verse in an *épître* of Scarron, a *ballade*, a *rondeau*, and an elegy, all from Voiture, an epigram by Maynard, a sonnet by Sarrasin, a *conte* by Melin de Saint-Gelais, and Benserade's lines *Sur le Mariage du Roy* (37-45). Mention is made of a "new" form of 10 syllable verse with the caesura after the fifth instead of the fourth syllable.⁵ He cites as examples of octosyllabic verse Maynard's ode to Cardinal Richelieu, an *épître* of Voiture, a *chanson* and *Job* by Benserade. His 7 syllable lines come from a sonnet by Malherbe, a *conte* by La Fontaine, and an epigram by Furetière. He remarks that the verse of 6 syllables, used by Ronsard and Du Bellay, has dropped from popularity. He finds examples in an anonymous epigram and Maynard's ode to Marie de Médicis. He cites Ronsard, Marot, and Benserade for 4 syllable verse. An *épître* of Marot and one of Scarron with lines from Ronsard illustrate the 3 syllable verse. He cannot discover the 2 syllable line used throughout a poem, but finds it in mixed form in Marot. He is obliged to resort to the *vaudeville* and *gavotte* for the monosyllabic line.⁶

⁵ He attributes the invention of this line to Regnier-Desmarais. A marginal note by an earlier reader of the copy this writer used adds that this verse was not new but was used by Bonaventure des Periers, a contemporary of Marot. The note continues that the verse was called *Tarantara* because "ce mot répété fait la mesure du vers (47-8)."

⁶ 17-80. He includes a discussion of *vers à chanter* and acknowledges his debt to "Monsieur Molier, de la Musique de la Chambre du Roy. . . . C'est un Homme excellent dans sa Profession . . . & il fait très-heureusement de petits vers (81)." There is a detailed commentary on a *chanson* by Mme de la Suze (83-4). Special attention is given to *vers mesurés*, which he criticizes as "contraires au génie de notre Langue; & il n'y a point d'oreille qui n'en soit choquée." He mentions nearly a dozen poets who used this verse and indicates some of its numerous variations as "vers Leonins mesurez . . . qui rimoient & au milieu & à la fin . . . vers Exametres & Pentametres François (81-94)."

Richelet turns to the drama for example of faults to be avoided in the composition of the verse itself. He finds *enjambement* in Racine's *Alexandre*, III, 3, and uses the variant reading of 1666 (96):

Mais de ce mesme front l'heroïque fierté
Le fin de ses regards, sa haute majesté,
Le font bientôt connoistre.⁷

Quinault's *Belléphon*, I, 2, abuses the device of transposition by placing the complementary infinitive before the finite verb when the former is governed by *à* (106):

Mais quel dessein étrange à partir vous engage.⁸

He calls attention to *J'hasarde* in Scarron, *Jodelet ou le Maître Valet* (IV, 10), and explains that *hiatus* may be permitted in comedy providing the words come from

la bouche de quelque valet. C'est pour quoy, j'ai peine à croire qu'on souffre que Sganarelle, un des premiers Personnages de l'Ecole des Maris, parle en cette sorte:

Bon, je refuse, hola, dis-je

L'h dans *hola* est aspirée; on ne dit jamais l'*hola* pour *hola*.⁹

He remarks that the poet should not rime words of more than 3 syllables which end in—*ion*. He finds the fault in *Le Misanthrope*, I, 2:

Croyez-moi, résistez à ces tentations,
Dérobez au public vos occupations.¹⁰

He cautions against the use of such combinations as *à qui qu'elles* and *en vous rebutant, tant de Rois*. The former appears in Corneille, *Othon*, III, 3:

Que vos seules bontez de tout mon sort ordonnent,
Je me donne en aveugle, à qui qu'elles me donnent.¹¹

⁷ Ed. Paul Mesnard, I, 561.

⁸ Ed. Paris, 1688, 4.

⁹ 112-3. He cites *le holà* from Boileau, *Satires*, IX, 177. The line from Molière is in *L'Ecole des Maris*, II, 2. Cf. ed. Despois, II, 385: Bon, je rêve: holà! dis-je, holà, quelqu'un! holà! The line from Scarron is spoken by Don Juan, not by Jodelet.

¹⁰ The ed. Despois, V, 466 reads *vos tentations* and offers the variant reading of *vos intentions*, which appeared in the editions of 1682, 1697, 1710, 1718, 1730, 1733 (note 21).

¹¹ Ed. Marty-Laveaux, VI, 617.

The latter is from Quinault's *Bellérophon*, v, 2:

Venge en vous rebutant, tant de Rois rebutez.¹²

Richelet allows a series of independent infinitives but adds that M. Veissière and Du Perrier

observent qu'en matière de grands Vers, plusieurs infinitifs de suite, & de même terminaison, sont désagréables

Avancer, reculer, caracoller, pousser.

En effet, ce vers qu'on attribué à un de nos plus célèbres Poètes, est très-rude; & en cela il ne faut point l'imiter.¹³

Certe, without the final *s*, is used neither in prose nor in poetry. He points to the error in *L'Ecole des Maris*, I, 2:

Mais c'est pain beni, certe à des gens comme vous.¹⁴

Words with a questionable connotation are to be avoided. Richelet illustrates the fault with a phrase from Malherbe: *Lui que jusqu'au Ponant*. He explains

le mot de Ponant qui se prend en raillerie pour le derrière, donne une mauvaise idée, & du temps même de Malherbe les Courtisans par cette raison se moquoient de cette Stance.¹⁵

Returning to the drama, Richelet cautions the poet not to conclude a verse with the 3rd person of the singular or plural of the future tense. He finds examples in Corneille, *Othon*, IV, 3 and *Attila*, I, 2:

Prends le sceptre aux dépens de qui succombera,
Et règne sans scrupule avec qui régnera.

Croyez ce qu'avec eux votre cœur resoudra,
Et de ces potentats s'offense qui voudra.¹⁶

An interesting comment on Boileau, *Satires*, I, 74-8 is provided with the observation that *encor* is incorrect for *encore*:

On le verra bientôt, pompeux en cette ville
Marcher encore chargé des dépouilles d'autrui

¹² 121. *Op. cit.*, 51.

¹³ 123. The line is from Corneille, *Victoires du roi en 1667*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, x, 199.

¹⁴ Ed. Despois, II, 374.

¹⁵ 129-30. The citation is from the *Paraphrase du Psaume VIII*. Cf. *Œuvres de Malherbe*, ed. Lalanne, I, 63.

¹⁶ Ed. Marty-Laveaux, VI, 632 and VII, 113.

Et jouir du Ciel meme irrité contre lui
Tandis que Colletet croté jusqu'à l'échine,
S'en va chercher son pain de cuisine en cuisine.

Dans la première édition des Satires, ces deux derniers vers se lisoient de cette sorte-là. Mais depuis, à la prière de Monsieur Ogier, on mit *Peletier* pour *Colletet*. Ce que je dis là, je le sçai d'original, & j'en dirai les raisons lors que je ferai mes Nottes sur les Satires. Cependant je remets les choses comme elles doivent estre. Iamais personne ne fut moins Parasite que le bon homme du *Pelletier*. Hors qu'il alloit montrer en ville, c'estoit un veritable Reclus (146).

He criticizes the omission of the article in Quinault's *Bellérophon*, I, 3:

L'exces de gloire est crime, en matiere d'état.¹⁷

Dedans is misused for *dans* in *Les Visionnaires*, III, 5:

Toute felicité dedans elle est enclose.

Identical rime is not permissible although found in *Le Misanthrope*, I, 2:

Oronte: Est-ce que j'éeris mal, & leur ressemblerois-je?

Alceste: Je ne dis pas cela; mais enfin, lui disois-je?¹⁸

The last pages of the treatise are devoted to the various types of stanza: 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14 lines and *stances de nombre impair*.¹⁹ He

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, 7.

¹⁸ Ed. Despois, v, 466. Richelet continues: La troisième personne plurielle des verbes ne rime jamais avec un nom. Toutefois dans une nouvelle comédie on s'est dispensé de cette regle; mais les Maistres condamnent cette liberté. Voici entr'autres, les vers qu'ils n'approuvent pas dans cette nouvelle Comédie.

Monsieur, ce sont les soins des Galans qui me touchent,
C'est pour eux seuls qu'ici l'on doit ouvrir la bouche.

Dans l'impression de la Piece, le Poëte a écrit *touche* sans *nt*; mais pensant éviter une faute, il est tombé dans une autre. Regulierement on écrit, *Les soins des Galans me touchent*, & jamais *me touche* sans *nt*. Cela est connu de tout le monde; & sans l'exemple de la mauvaise rime que je viens de rapporter, & je ne me fusse jamais avisé d'en faire une remarque (215-6). The allusion is to Poisson, *Femmes Coquettes*, v, 5.

¹⁹ When concluding his general discussion of the stanza, Richelet makes the following acknowledgment: Je dois la plupart de ces remarques à Monsieur Conrart. Mais que ne lui dois-je point? Il m'honore de sa bienveillance; & sur les choses que je prens la liberté de lui montrer, il me dit ses sentimens avec la plus grande sincerité, & la plus grande honnesté du monde (232).

furnishes examples of each type so that these pages assume the appearance of an anthology (234-276). He prefaces his selections with a brief appraisal of some poets and their works,²⁰ and offers Benserade's *Stances sur le Retour du Cardinal Mazarin* as a general illustration of poetry in stanza form. Slightly more than 40 selections are furnished by 17 poets. The quatrain, presented 11 times with the 6 line stanza, receives benefit of special attention. "Pibrac, du Bartas, Mathieu, le President Faure, la Picardière, Paul Perrot, Père de l'illustre Monsieur d'Ablancour," and Godeau are listed as the poets preferring this shortest of forms. Curiously enough, Richelet draws upon only one of these 7 poets, Godeau, for his examples.

SPIRE PITOU

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NEUES ÜBER DEN MÜTTER- UND MATRONENKULT AM NIEDERRHEIN.

Der *Jahresbericht 1941 bis 1945 des (Rheinischen) Landesmuseums in Bonn* (in Heft 148 der *Bonner Jahrbücher*, Düsseldorf, 1948¹) enthält einen Bericht über die Schicksale der Sammlungen während der Kriegszeit und über Neuerwerbungen, der für Germanisten und Keltisten Wichtiges bringt.

Mit Befriedigung wird man hören, dass die wertvollen Bestände des früheren Provinzialmuseums infolge umsichtiger Magazinierung und teilweiser Auslagerung im wesentlichen gerettet wurden, darunter auch die Matronenaltäre vom Bonner Münster.—Unter den Eingängen aus der Kriegszeit interessieren besonders sieben neue

²⁰ Nos Auteurs les plus fameux dans les Stances sont Desportes, Bertaud, Malherbe, Theophile, Lingendes, la Lane, Voiture, Sarasin. On estime les Stances de Desportes sur le Mariage. Bertaud & Theophile sont amoureux. Lingendes, beau; Malherbe, grave; la Lane, tendre; Voiture & Sarasin, enjouez. Les plus ingénieuses Stances de Voiture regardent Madame Aubri, dont la jupe fut retroussée en versant dans un Carosse à la campagne. Entre les Poètes qui vivent, l'un des plus celebres pour les Stances, c'est Monsieur de Benserade. Il pense tres-délicatement, & donne à toutes les Stances un certain air libre & gai, qui plaist toujours (233-4).

¹ Für die Übersendung bin ich dem Direktor des Landesmuseums, Herrn Prof. Dr. F. Oelmann, zu Dank verpflichtet.

Matronenaltäre. Fünf davon, Votivsteine der *Matronae Vatviae*, stammen aus Morken-Harff (Kreis Bergheim); sie wurden im August 1943 bei Erweiterung einer Braunkohlengrube gefunden (Inv. 43, 137-141). Die hellbraunen Sandsteine sind sekundär als Baumaterial benutzt und deshalb an den Kanten beschädigt. Das Heiligtum war also nicht am Fundort. Die neuen Altäre sind beschrieben *a. a. O.*, S. 398 ff., und auf den Tafeln 66, 67, 68, 69 (Abb. 1, 2) abgebildet. Ich beschränke mich deshalb auf den Abdruck der dem Germanisten wichtigen Namensformen der Matronen:

43, 137: MATRONĪS VATVIMS 43, 138: MA·TRO·NĪS VĀT·VIMS
43, 139: MATRONIS VATVIMS 43, 141: MAT·VATV·A (Vatvia[bus])

Über die *Matronae Vatviae* sind zu vergleichen die Bemerkungen in meinem Artikel 'Der germanische Mütter- und Matronenkult am Niederrhein,' *Germanic Review*, XIX (1944), 81-142, bes. 91 f., wo die sieben früher gefundenen Inschriften angeführt sind. Drei von diesen haben die urgermanische Dativform *Vatvims* (die anderen *Vatviabus*), die eine Deutung aus dem Germanischen unabweisbar machen. (Vgl. R. Much, *Z. f. d. Altertum*, XXXI (1887), 354-358.) Diese Formen sind nunmehr durch drei weitere vermehrt. Man übersetzt 'die Bewässernden' (über das linguistische Problem, die sonst nicht belegte Stammeserweiterung *watw-* vgl. R. Much, *Z. f. d. Altertum*, XXXV (1891), 317: **wat-w-jan* 'bewässern'?) und S. Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen der antiken Inschriften* (Halle, 1936), S. 164 f., dessen eigener Vorschlag aber nicht überzeugend ist: **wakwa-* > **watwa-*, dieselbe Bedeutung.)

43, 140 hat ein Sonderproblem. Der Wortlaut ist:

VATVIABVS
BERHLIAHENĪS

CIL, XIII, 7883 hat *Matro(nis) Vatviab(us) Nersihenis*, also eine ähnliche Erweiterung des Namens *Vatviae* durch eine nähere Bestimmung, die entweder auf das Flüsschen Niers oder, weniger wahrscheinlich, den Niersort Neersen bei München-Gladbach geht. Der Beiname auf dem neuen Matronenstein darf wohl mit dem Berichterstatter Neuffer in *BERHVIAHENIS* verbessert werden, denn *[Be]rguiahenae*, *Berhuiahenae* und *[Ber]guinehae* sind auf bereits bekannten Matronensteinen belegt. Die Deutung ist unsicher:

**bergu-* ist eher keltisch als germanisch; andererseits ist der Wechsel von *g* und *h* (aus idg. *k*) dem Germanischen nicht fremd; vgl. *Germ. Rev.*, XIX, 96 f. Der Name scheint sich nicht auf ein Gewässer zu beziehen. Wenn das Wurzelwort keltisch ist, dann doch die Endung *-ahenae* germanisch (über die *-h-* Suffixe vgl. *Germ. Rev.*, XIX, 94 f).

Einen ganz neuen Matronennamen bietet ein Votivaltar, der im Februar 1944 am Dransdorfer Berge bei Bonn geborgen wurde (etwa 2, 9 km westlich der Münsterkirche von Bonn). Die Inventarnummer ist 44, 280; Abbildung auf Tafel 64 (Abb. 1). Hier gebe ich den vollen Text nebst Interpretation:

MATRONIS
/ENAHENA
/VS·PM
CRESCENS
EX·IM·IP
PR·S·LM

Matronis
[R]enahena
[b]us P(ublius) M(anilius?)
Crescens
ex im(perio) ip(sarum)
pr(o) s(e) l(ibens) m(erito)

Neuffer hat unter Hinweis auf ein Bonner Bruchstück unbekannten Fundorts den ersten Buchstaben der zweiten Zeile als R ergänzt. Das betreffende Bruchstück ist oben rechts und unten schwer beschädigt:

MATRO
RENAHI
MV

Matro[nis——]
Renahi[s——]
Mu

(Veröffentlicht von H. Lehner, *Die antiken Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums in Bonn* (Bonn, 1918), Nr. 549, danach von H. Finke im Nachtrag zu *CIL*, XIII, in den *Berichten der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*, XVII (1927) (Frankfurt a. M., 1929), 105, Nr. 315.)

Da RENAH I nicht mit Sicherheit als Matronenname zu bestimmen war, auch das nomen eines Stifters hätte sein können, war F. M. Heichelheim,² Verfasser des grundlegenden *Matres*-Artikels in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopadie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, XIV, 2 (1930), 2213-2250, s. Zt. nicht bereit, einen Matronennamen **Renah(i)ae* zu erschliessen und begnügte sich mit Aufnahme von Lehnern Nummer (unter der Sammelnummer 29). Der neue Fund beseitigt wohl diesen Zweifel, obwohl die Ergänzung

² Ich verdanke Herrn Professor F. M. Heichelheim in Toronto eine liebenswürdige briefliche Auskunft.

der Dativform von Nr. 549 zu *Renahis* unsicher bleibt. Das längere Suffix *-ahenae* und die längere Dativform *-ahenabus* auf dem neuen Stein stehen der vorgeschlagenen Verbindung nicht im Wege. Die *-h-* Suffixe sind nicht stabil, vgl. die oben bei *BERHLIAHENAE* angeführten Entsprechungen [*Be*]rguiahenae, *Berhuiahenae* und [*Ber*]guinehae.

Das germanische Suffix der *Renahenae*—Inscription kann nach meiner Übersicht *Germ. Rev.*, XIX, 97, mit germanischen, keltischen und lateinischen Wurzelwörtern verbunden werden, um Matronennamen mit topischer Bedeutung zu bilden. Gewöhnlich beginnt das Suffix mit *-a-*, wie in *Albiahenae*, *Aumenahenae*, *Berhuiahenae*, *Gesahenae*, *Etrahenae*, *Vesuniahenae*, u. a.; *Nersihenae* ist latinisiert.

Im vorliegenden Falle bietet sich kelt. *Rēnōs* (*Rhēnos*, *Rhēnus*) an, vgl. A. Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz* (Leipzig, 1896-1911), II, 1130 f. Über die Herkunft des Flussnamens s. Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterb. der indogerm. Sprachen*, I (Berlin u. Leipzig, 1930), 140 (Wurzel **er-*); und über das Verhältnis von kelt. *Rēnos* zu west-illyr. *Rīnos* (woraus die germanische Form) s. J. Pokorny in *Z. f. Celtische Philologie*, XXI (1938), 55 ff.

Nach Lage des Fundortes darf man den Namen wohl unbedenklich—wie *Aumenahenae* zum rechtsrheinischen Flussnamen ahd. *Oumena* und *Nersihenae* zum linksrheinischen Flussnamen Niers—auf das nächstliegende Gewässer beziehen, das diesen Namen hat, d. h. auf den Rhein. Die Matronen vom Dransdorfer Berge heißen also die 'Rheinischen,' ihr Kult war aber wie der der anderen mit *h*-Suffixen lokal beschränkt; ein entsprechender Familienname ist m. E. nicht mit Sicherheit anzusetzen (vgl. *Germ. Rev.*, XIX, 99).

Ein siebenter Matronenaltar, aus der Nähe der Dransdorfer Fundstelle, Inv. 44, 281, hat keine Inschrift, aber eine Skulptur, die trotz ziemlicher Beschädigung noch eine Opferszene erkennen lässt: ein Mann steht vor einer ihn überragenden weiblichen Figur, deren Matronenhaube zwar fehlt, aber durch Ansatz und Abspliss noch erkennbar ist.

ERNST ALFRED PHILIPPSON

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HEINE'S *GEOFFROY RUDEL UND MELISANDE VON TRIPOLI* AND ARNOLD'S *TRISTRAM AND ISEULT* AND *THE CHURCH OF BROU*

The arresting tableau in the second part of Arnold's *Tristram and Iseult* which depicts the lovers lying dead in a chamber while the "stately huntsman," figured in the "ghostlike tapestry," seems to come alive and speak, bears certain obvious affinities with the third part of *The Church of Brou*, "The Tomb," in which the marble figures of the lovers, the Duchess Marguerite and her husband, are imagined to awake in the night and carry on a ghostly conversation.¹ Although *Tristram and Iseult* first appeared in 1852 and *The Church of Brou* in 1853, it is likely that the latter was written first, or at about the same time, since Arnold later classified it among his early poems. The poems appeared side by side in the 1853 edition, *Tristram* in a much revised version.

The source of *The Church of Brou*, especially of the third part, has been demonstrated to be an article by Edgar Quinet, "Des Arts de la Renaissance et de l'Eglise de Brou," published in 1839.² And the Quinet article doubtless rained its influence on the *Tristram* scene.

But Heinrich Heine, long one of Arnold's favorite poets,³ had treated a similar theme in *Geoffroy Rudel und Melisande von Tripoli*, which appeared in his *Romanzero*, 1851.

However, even if Arnold had not read Heine's *Romanzero* in the German before writing *Tristram* and *The Church of Brou*, he would almost certainly have seen the article "Romancero," which had appeared October 15, 1851, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, of which he was an indefatigable reader. As it happened, one of the poems from the *Romanzero* included in the *Revue* article was *Geoffroy Rudel und Melisande von Tripoli*, in French translation.

¹ For a discussion of the relationship, see C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry, *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold: A Commentary*, New York, 1940, pp. 115-116.

² See W. Know Johnson, *Athenæum*, April 18, 1903, p. 499.

³ Arnold's acquaintance with Heine was early. He had read *Reisebilder* by May, 1848, according to a letter to his mother on that date. And "Heine's gedichte" appears three times on his reading lists (unpublished) for 1852.

This poem is of a tapestry embroidered long ago by Mélisande, the countess of Tripoli. Wrought into the tapestry, which hangs in the chateau de Blay, are the figures of Mélisande and a troubadour, Rudel. They had fallen in love as Rudel was dying on the seashore. She had embraced him, but "le baiser de bienvenue a été en même temps le baiser d'adieu; en même temps ils ont vidé la coupe de la félicité suprême et de la plus profonde douleur." And now, every night the figures on the tapestry suddenly come alive, shake their limbs, descend into the hall, and talk of love, of dreams, and of death "tandis qu'un rayon de la lune les écoute à la fenêtre cintrée." At the first light of dawn the figures slip back into the tapestry. This charming poem of two "who liv'd and lov'd/A thousand years ago" bears an obvious overall resemblance to the third part of *The Church of Brou*.

Moreover the connections of the death scene in *Tristram* with *Geoffroy Rudel und Melisande von Tripoli* are not far to seek. Iseult is reunited with her lover at his moment of death. "The moon shines bright" through "the mullion'd windows clear." The lovers lie dead in "some old, sea-side, knightly hall." Heine's figure, incidentally, of the cup of supreme felicity and profound sorrow drained by Rudel and Melisande exactly describes the love potion in the *Tristram* legend. As an additional link, it is to be observed that in the first part of the *Revue* article which contains Heine's poem, Heine, on his deathbed, is quoted as contrasting his own end "sur un grabat au milieu du tumulte de Paris" with the last hour of his "collègue, Merlin l'enchanteur . . . dans la forêt de Brocéliande . . . sous de beaux arbres, au sein de la verdure, au chant harmonieux des oiseaux." Arnold made yeoman use of the Merlin incident, although he derived his details from elsewhere, in the concluding lines of *Tristram*.

But, most important, it would seem that the most striking and daring element in the *Tristram* scene (an element that occurs nowhere in the *Tristram* legend, *The Church of Brou*, or the Quinet essay), the tapestry on which the huntsman seems to become animated and to speak, was suggested by the tapestry that hangs in the chateau de Blay.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FLOWER PASSAGE IN
"LYCIDAS"

It has long been recognized that the probable antecedent of the flower passage in "Lycidas"¹ is a speech of Perdita in *The Winter's Tale*,² but it has never been explained what attracted Milton to that particular set of flowers for his own elegy, and why, having once followed Shakespeare's pattern very closely, he changed it in the final version so that the lines in their present state have only a remote connection with Shakespeare's lines. If we can account for the changes, it may help to give us an insight into Milton's poetic methods.

For reasons which will become apparent later, it will be necessary to present more of the passage from *The Winter's Tale* than Milton actually used. The passage is a dialogue between Perdita and Florizel, and Perdita's lines contain the flower description.

I would I had some flowers o'th'spring that might
Become your time of day; and yours, and yours,
That wear upon your virgin branches yet
Your maidenheads growing. O Proserpina,
For the flowers now, that frighted thou let'st fall
From Dis's waggon! daffodils,
That come before the swallow dares, and take
The winds of March with beauty; violets dim,
But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes
Or Cytherea's breath; pale primroses,
That die unmarried, ere they can behold
Bright Phœbus in his strength—a malady
Most incident to maids; bold oxlips and
The crown imperial; lilies of all kinds,
The flower-de-luce being one! O, these I lack,
To make you garlands of, and my sweet friend,
To strew him o'er and o'er!

Florizel.

What, like a corse?

Perdita. No, like a bank for love to lie and play on;
Not like a corse; or if, not to be buried,
But quick and in mine arms.³

¹ "Lycidas," ll. 142-150.

² Cf. Milton's *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso* and *Lycidas*, ed. by A. W. Verity (Cambridge, 1911), p. 151-152.

³ iv, iv, 113-132.

These lines clearly indicate that there were in Shakespeare's time two traditions of the symbolism of this collection of spring flowers. That Perdita is thinking of them romantically as adjuncts to love in the spring is evident from her reply to Florizel who has in mind their use at a funeral, the meaning which obviously brought them to Milton's mind.

The first version of these lines appears in the Trinity manuscript. Milton has crossed them out, but they remain legible, and the parallel of these lines to Shakespeare's is close.

Bring the rathe primrose that unwedded dies
collu colouring the pale cheeke of uninjoyd love
 and that sad floure that strove
 to write his owne woes on the vermeil graine
 next adde Narcissus y^t still weeps in vaine
 the woodbine and y^e pencie freak't wth jet
 the glowing violet
 the cowslip wan that hangs his pensive head
 and every bud that sorrows liverie weares
 let Daffadillies fill thire cups wth teares
 bid Amaranthus all his beautie shed
 to strew the laureat herse &c.⁴

These lines Milton changed to read:

Bring the rathe primrose that forsaken dies
the tufted crowtoe and pale Gessamin
the white pinke, and y^e pansie freakt wth jet
the glowing violet

the well-attir'd woodbine^s
the muske rose and *the garish columbine*
with cowslips wan that hang the pensive head
weare

weares[®]

⁴ Any method of reference to this MS is difficult because of the presence of blank pages which are not reproduced in the collotype by W. Aldis Wright. *Facsimile of the Manuscript of Milton's Minor Poems* (Cambridge, 1899). Hence his numbering is different from Milton's, but Milton's is inconsistent, and some pages are not numbered. In this paper I have followed Milton's numbering, supplying square brackets [] when he did not number the page, and have then supplied Wright's page number in parentheses (). This passage appears on folio [30] (28).

In the second line "*collu*" is lined through. In the tenth line, "with" is inserted over a caret.

⁵ "*The garish columbine*" is crossed out and "the well-attir'd woodbine" written above it.

^a "beares," appearing twice in this line, is both times crossed out, with "weare" written above it the first time, and "weares" the second.

and every flower that sad escutcheon beares imbroidrie beares
 2 & let daffadillies fill thire cups wth teares
 1 bid Amaranthus all his beauties shed⁷
 to strew &c.⁸

Apparently this passage was an afterthought, for in the Trinity manuscript on folio 33 (31), where this passage should occur, the lines read

and purple all the ground wth vernal flowrs
 Bring the rathe &c.
 to strew the laureat herse where Lycid' lies⁹

Between these two verses a line leads to the margin to the words, "Bring the rathe &c." This refers back to folio [30] (28), where the two versions already quoted of the passage are to be found. This page is evidently a scrap page. Milton had probably started to write the poem on the page, but finding that his corrections thus early in the poem were making it look sloppy, he moved to a fresh sheet, folio 31 (29); the poem is fairly good copy down to the very messy section at the bottom of the page, at which point Milton must have felt reluctance to recopy so much. There was, however, space on folio [30] (28), which Milton apparently used for later corrections, such as the correction of the messy lines at the bottom of folio 31 (29).

The lines just quoted follow syntactically, and apparently Milton did not intend to have the flower passage at all. On re-reading what he had written, he was, it seems, dissatisfied with the abstract word "flowrs," and wanted to pin the meaning down to something more tangible. Thinking in the Florizel tradition, he picked up the collection of images which he associated with funerals. The mind can play tricks on the artist, and it is indeed possible that Milton echoed Shakespeare unconsciously; then haunted by a sense that he had seen those lines before somewhere, located them and made corrections to his interpolation in order to remove any stigma of imitation.

Besides his possible recognition of his unconscious plagiarism, Milton had an additional reason to make the changes between

⁷ The numbers indicate that these two lines are to be interchanged. The "let" has been crossed out and "&" inserted over a caret.

⁸ Trinity MS, folio [30] (28).

⁹ *Ibid.*, folio 33 (31).

the first and second versions of this passage; that reason can be found in the double tradition of the use of this particular collection of flowers. As soon as he found the passage in *The Winter's Tale* Milton must have recognized that Perdita is thinking of the symbolism of these flowers as adjuncts to romantic love. The primrose, for example, has long been associated with the idea of love, sometimes even sensual love, as in Brathwait's *Golden Fleece*,

For she [Rosamond], poore wench did flourish for a while
Cropt in the primrose of her wantonnesse.¹⁰

Everyone is familiar with Shakespeare's phrase "primrose path." The meaning there is clearly a path of pleasure, not sprinkled with funeral flowers. Then the figure that Milton first uses, the "primrose that unwedded dies colouring the pale cheek of uninjoyed love," is not a lamenting for a loss of virginity, but rather, as used in the story of the daughter of Jephthah,¹¹ the lamenting for the fact that she must die a virgin. Thus Milton must have seen after a little consideration that this image was completely inappropriate to his purpose, so he substituted the less meaningful, but less sensual, "forsaken" for "unwedded" and cut the next line completely.

The narcissus was cut because it, like the primrose, is one of the ambiguous flowers, and the undesirable image of sensuality might have come to the mind of the reader.

There is one further significant correction in the second version. In the lines

and that sad floure that strove
to write his owne woes on the vermeil graine,

the reference is pretty clearly to the hyacinth. According to legend, Hyacinthus, a beautiful youth, had been killed through the jealousy of Zepherus, and from his blood had sprung a flower whose petals were supposedly marked with AI AI.¹² With this legend in mind, the word "floure" in the first line seems to be elliptical, Milton using it to mean both the flower and the youth. The reason for this change is obvious, for Milton had already used the same figure in line 106 of the poem, and it would not bear repeating. Thus he

¹⁰ Sonnet III, iii.

¹¹ Judges 11: 37-38.

¹² Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, x, 210 ff.

changed the name to crowtoe, which was another name for the hyacinth, and discarded the rest of the image.

The famed flower passage, accordingly, shows itself pretty clearly to be a later interpolation, imitated, presumably unconsciously, from Shakespeare. When Milton found the original it brought to his mind the ambiguity of the symbolism of the flowers he had selected, so he revised the lines to remove not only possible plagiarism but also all elements of the sensual meaning in order to reinforce the funeral idea as much as he could.

HENRY HITCH ADAMS

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QUELQUES NOTES SUR LA CORRESPONDANCE DE VOLTAIRE

I.

Dans son édition de la correspondance de Voltaire, Louis Moland date la lettre 151¹ du mois de septembre 1725. Cependant, le contenu de cette lettre démontre qu'elle doit être du lundi, 28 mai de la même année. En effet, Voltaire commence sa lettre ainsi: "Hier, à dix heures et demie, le roi déclara qu'il épousait la princesse de Pologne, et en parut très content." Or, Barbier nous apprend que "dimanche, 27 de mai, le Roi a déclaré après son dîner son mariage avec la princesse royale de Pologne. . . ."² Il faut donc conclure que c'est le lendemain, 28 mai, que Voltaire écrit à Mme de Bernières.

Ajoutons d'ailleurs que cette nouvelle date cadre mieux que l'ancienne avec ce que nous savons des allées et venues de Voltaire en 1725. Au mois de juin Voltaire arrive à Paris, après avoir fait un séjour à Versailles³ (où il a dû arriver vers le 25 mai),⁴ alors que le 27 août il part pour Fontainebleau⁵ où il se trouve toujours le 13 novembre.⁶

¹ xxxiii, p. 146.

² Barbier, *Chronique de la Régence* (éd. Charpentier, 1857), t. I, p. 390. Cf. Marais, *Journal* (éd. Lescure, 1863-68), t. III, p. 186.

³ xxxiii, p. 138, lettre 141.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 147, lettre 151: "Il n'y a que trois jours que je suis à Versailles."

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 145-6, lettre 149.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 153, lettre 156.

La lettre 150, écrite elle aussi de Versailles,⁷ se rapporte probablement au même séjour à Versailles que la lettre 151. Il faudrait donc la dater aussi du mois de mai.⁸

II.

Il est possible de dater les lettres 115, 116, 118, 120, 121 et 122 avec plus de précision que ne l'a fait Moland.

Le duc de Melun fut blessé le samedi, 29 juillet 1724. Il mourut le lundi, 31 juillet.⁹ Le roi partit pour Versailles le 1^{er} août.¹⁰ Dans la lettre 116¹¹ Voltaire fait part à Mme de Bernières de tous ces événements, datant l'accident de "samedi dernier."¹² Il faut donc croire que cette lettre a été écrite au plus tôt le 1^{er} août. Elle n'a pas été écrite plus tard que le 3 août, car elle est destinée à avertir Mme de Bernières que Voltaire et le duc de Richelieu n'arriveront pas chez elle "vendredi prochain," c'est-à-dire le 4 août, comme il avait été déjà convenu.¹³ Comme dans cette lettre Voltaire annonce son intention de rester encore "une quinzaine" de jours à Forges, et qu'il arrive à Paris le 15 août,¹⁴ il faut sans doute opter pour le 1^{er} ou le 2 août.

La lettre 115,¹⁵ dans laquelle Voltaire fait savoir à Mme de Bernières qu'il arrivera chez elle avec le duc de Richelieu "vendredi prochain," 4 août,¹⁶ a dû être écrite dans la semaine du 23 juillet. Elle est évidemment antérieure à la lettre 116; elle doit même être antérieure à l'accident et à la mort du duc de Melun, car Voltaire n'aurait pas manqué de parler dans sa lettre d'un événement aussi important. Comme Voltaire annonce son arrivée pour "vendredi prochain," cette lettre est probablement du vendredi, 28 juillet 1724.

La lettre 118¹⁷ doit être datée du vendredi, 11 août, car Voltaire qui met en tête de sa lettre "ce vendredi au soir," y annonce à Mme de Bernières qu'il va quitter Forges "mardi prochain, quinzième du mois."

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁸ Elle est peut-être postérieure à la lettre 151. Si elle l'est, et si elle est du même mois, elle est sans doute du mercredi, 30 mai.

⁹ Barbier, *Chronique*, t. I, p. 366, Marais, *Journal*, t. III, p. 126-7.

¹⁰ Marais, *ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 117, lettre 119.

¹² XXXIII, p. 114.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹⁵ Cette date est déterminée par la lettre 116.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, lettre 115.

¹⁷ XXXIII, p. 116.

Le jeudi, 24 août,¹⁸ Voltaire écrit à Thieriot pour lui demander s'il a bien reçu une lettre qu'il lui a écrite "il y a huit jours," c'est-à-dire vers le jeudi, 17 août. Or, la lettre 120¹⁹ qui a dû être écrite après la lettre 119 du 16 août,²⁰ porte la mention "ce jeudi, à minuit," ce qui nous permet de supposer qu'elle est la lettre dont parle Voltaire le 24 août et qu'elle est vraisemblablement du jeudi, 17 août.

Dans cette même lettre du 24 août Voltaire demande si Mme de Bernières a reçu une lettre où il lui rendait compte d'une entrevue avec d'Argenson.²¹ Cette lettre est évidemment la lettre 121, écrite "ce lundi . . . août." On peut la dater du lundi, 21 août, qui est le seul lundi entre le 24 et le 15 août, date de l'arrivée de Voltaire à Paris.

La lettre 122 doit être postérieure à la lettre 123, car c'est vers le 24 août seulement que Voltaire, contraint par le bruit de quitter, au bout d'une semaine,²² la maison de Mme de Bernières où il a dû s'installer le 17 août,²³ se réfugie dans l'hôtel garni où il est victime des "huit accès de fièvre"²⁴ dont il se plaint dans la lettre 122. Celle-ci est pourtant antérieure à la lettre 124 du 10 septembre,²⁵ car dans la lettre 122 Voltaire parle de la maladie du roi d'Espagne,²⁶ alors que dans la lettre 124 il parle de sa mort.²⁷

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NASALIZATION IN HAITIAN CREOLE

The present article deals with three problems which arise in the phonological analysis of Haitian Creole,¹ all connected with the

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 120, lettre 123.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 117, lettre 119.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 119-120.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹ The colloquial language of the Haitian Republic, a creolized variety of French, with an African substratum but basically Romance in its structure.

This article is based on materials gathered during a linguistic survey made in Haiti in March-April, 1949, for the Fundamental Education Project ("Marbial Project") of UNESCO.

nasalization of vowels. These problems and the solutions proposed here are of interest from the point of view of general phonemics (especially as applied to the analysis of French and English) and also have a direct bearing on the choice of an orthography for Creole.

1. The Phonemic Status of Nasalization

In Haitian Creole, we find the following set of contrasts between nasalized and non-nasalized vowels:

[žā] *John*
 [viān] *meat*
 [leogan] *Léogane* (town name)

The obvious solution for this problem is to isolate nasalization and to treat it as a separate phonological component transcribed as /~/, which occurs in conjunction with the five basic vowels of Creole /i e a o u/, giving the nasalized vowels /ĩ ē ā õ ũ/. We would then transcribe the above words phonemically as /žā/, /viān/, and /leogan/.

On the other hand, we might also be tempted to group [-] (nasalization) with syllable-final [n] into a single phoneme /n/, as has been suggested for colloquial French.² But we would then be forced to introduce some kind of extra device, such as an artificial proneme /ə/ comparable to the "mute e" of French spelling, to cover instances where [n] occurs in syllable-final position after non-nasal vowel, as in [leogan], and to transcribe the examples given in the preceding paragraph as /žan/, /viann/, and /leoganə/. But this latter solution is needlessly complicated and clearly unrealistic.

Of the various orthographies suggested for Haitian Creole, the two most nearly phonemic are those proposed by H. O. McConnell and W. Laubach (1940-3) and by Charles-Fernand Pressoir (1945). In Pressoir's system, nasalization is represented by *n* written after the vowel letter, in conformity with French orthography, and [n]

²E.g. by G. L. Trager, "The Verb Morphology of Spoken French," *Language*, xx, no. 3 (1944). The situation in Haitian Creole is wholly comparable to that in modern colloquial French, which has the same type of contrasts, e.g. in [væ] *twenty*, [vænds] *twenty-two*, and [ven] *vein, luck*. Trager's analysis is indeed acceptable for archaic literary French, but (as implied in our further discussion in this article) not for modern colloquial speech. Cf. also *Structural Sketches I: French* (Language Monograph No. 24, 1948), pp. 9, 14-15.

pronounced at the end of a syllable is indicated by *-n*. Here, the hyphen fulfills the same function as the symbol [ə] in Trager's phonemicization or the "mute *e*" of French spelling, i. e. that of a purely typographical device to indicate pronunciation of the consonant [n]. In the McConnell-Laubach orthography, nasalization is indicated by a circumflex accent written over the vowel letter; the circumflex is substituted for the tilde of IPA because the former is available in all Haitian print-shops and on all French typewriters, whereas the latter is not. We give a comparative table showing our three sample words in IPA, in Pressoir, and in McConnell-Laubach:

IPA	Pressoir	McC-Laubach
[ʒã]	<i>Jan</i>	<i>Jâ</i>
[viã̃]	<i>vian-n</i>	<i>viân</i>
[leogan]	<i>Léoga-n</i>	<i>Léogan</i>

Of the two systems, the Pressoir-Trager type of phonemicization is unrealistic and introduces needless complications in analysis and typography. The McConnell-Laubach system's use of the circumflex has been criticized for the irrelevant reason that it differs from traditional French habits of orthography. But, as we have seen, it is completely realistic phonemically and hence scientifically accurate to treat nasalization as a separate phonemic component. The McConnell-Laubach system does this; the Pressoir system does not; the former is therefore to be preferred.³

2. The Extent of Nasalization

In Haitian Creole, as in other languages with an African substratum (e. g. Taki-Taki⁴), nasalization is notoriously unstable, and in many instances extends partially or wholly over one or more neighboring sounds. We thus find such alternations as these:

[ũgã] ~ [ũ ^g gã]	<i>vaudou priest</i>
[reme] ~ [re ^m m ^e] ⁵ ~ [rēmē]	<i>love</i>
[avã] ~ [a ^v vã] ~ [āvã]	<i>before</i>

³ Use of the circumflex to symbolize nasalization is also pedagogically advisable, because of the easy identification of this accent mark with the *bwa nâ né* ("wood on the nose"), which, in certain games, is placed over a person's nose and forces him to speak with nasal resonance.

⁴ The creolized English of Dutch Guiana (Suriname); cf. Robert A. Hall, Jr., "The Linguistic Structure of Taki-Taki," *Language*, xxiv, no. 1 (1948).

⁵ With only partial nasalization of [e], just before or just after the nasal consonant.

In other instances, however, this optional extension of nasalization never takes place: Haitians always pronounce the town names *Léogâne*, *Miragoâne* as [leogan], [miragwan], never as [leogān], [miragwān].

The best way to treat this phenomenon is simply to recognize that, in very many words, the component of nasalization is variable in its domain, and may extend to neighboring sounds or even syllables. In the case of pre-nasalization of a consonant (as in [ũⁿgā]) or of partial nasalization of a vowel (as in [re[~]m[~]e]), the variation is conditioned by close juncture and hence is not phonemically significant, so that we need not symbolize it in phonemic or orthographical transcription: /ũgā/, McConnell-Laubach *ouġâ*: /reme/ *rémé*: /avā/ *avâ*. When the vowel is fully nasalized, however, we must recognize the component of nasalization as being present and must give it adequate symbolization: /rēmē/ *rêmê*: /āvā/ *âvâ*. The McConnell-Laubach orthography, in recognizing these alternations, is wholly phonemic.

3. Nasalization and Post-Consonantal [r]

In normal Creole speech, the occurrence of the sound [r] is restricted to syllable-initial position, as is that of [h] in English. Creole [r] thus comes to be in completely complementary distribution with [˜], as is English [h] with vowel length ([ː]) in those dialects where [ː] is phonemically significant.⁶ We might, therefore, proceeding on the grounds of distribution alone, group Creole [˜] and [r] as allophones of the same phoneme, and write nasalization as post-vocalic /r/, thus: [žā] /žar/, [viān] /viarn/, but [leogan] /leogan/. Nobody, as far as I know, has proposed this solution seriously, and it is to be hoped that nobody will. Even "common sense" tells us that it would be unrealistic, and for once "common sense" is right. There is no phonetic similarity at all between Creole [˜] and [r], any more than there is between English [ː] and [h]; and any "pattern congruity" established by their identification is purely artificial, a distortion imposed by a needless *Systemzwang* which seeks to force a non-existent regularity on facts which are not wholly regular. For Creole, the problem is given its definite solution, anyhow, by the fact that syllable-final [r] is being

⁶ Cf. B. Bloch and G. L. Trager, "The Syllabic Phonemes of English," *Language*, XVII, no. 3 (1941).

re-introduced from standard French, especially in the North and in the Central Plateau⁷ and even somewhat in Port-au-Prince. The parallel is instructive, however, for the situation in English: the analysis of [i e o u] as /ɪj ej ɔw uw/ is acceptable on the basis of a semi-componential analysis, but the identification of [:] and [h] is wholly artificial, hence unscientific and unacceptable. We should be suspicious of any phonemic identification established on the grounds of distribution alone.

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"CHICAGO," AN UNCOLLECTED POEM, POSSIBLY BY
WHITMAN

Walt Whitman visited Chicago on June 7, 1848, arriving at ten o'clock in the morning and leaving at nine the next morning. While there, he stayed at the American Temperance House,¹ located at Lake Street and Wabash Avenue.² Although one finds no comment about his impressions, that he was impressed is perhaps indicated by the notation made "preparatory to writing 'Leaves of Grass'": "Leading Chicago Poem."³ And in "Mediums," first published in 1860, Whitman wrote: ". . . they shall enjoy the sight of the beef, lumber, bread-stuffs, of Chicago the great city, . . ." ⁴ Moreover, another memorandum, which "there is some probability was written during or shortly after his extended trip across the continent in 1879," reads: "Poem of the Prairies/ for Chicago edition."⁵

While no Chicago edition of his poems was published, a poem "Chicago" was printed *under Walt Whitman's name* in the

⁷ Information supplied by M. Michelson Hyppolite, of Cap-Haitien.

¹ *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, ed. Richard M. Bucke, Thomas B. Harned, and Horace L. Traubel (New York and London, 1902), vi, 213-214.

² John Moses and Joseph Kirkland, *History of Chicago, Illinois* (Chicago and New York, 1895), i, 562.

³ *Complete Writings*, ix, 191.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 263.

⁵ Edward G. Bernard, "Some New Whitman Manuscript Notes," *American Literature*, viii (Mar., 1936), 60.

Toronto [Ontario] *World*, December 8, 1884.⁶ This poem, so far as I have been able to determine, has been neither collected nor listed in any Whitman bibliography; only one file — in the Toronto Public Library—of the *World* including this issue is listed in *American Newspapers 1821-1936* (ed. Winifred Gregory, New York, 1937, p. 778). A clipping of the printed poem is in the R. M. Bucke Scrapbook (I, 393), Trent Collection, Duke University Library.

The poem seems to reflect the Chicago industrial crisis which "set in about 1884, lasting till 1886. . . . The Anarchists in Chicago took advantage of the situation to hold large mass meetings, in particular a great street demonstration on Thanksgiving Day, 1884."⁷ Regarding section five, it should be noted that in 1884 the Illinois State Federation of Labor "expressed itself as opposed to 'further importation of pauper labor from Europe.'"⁸

The poem follows:

CHICAGO

I have looked thee over and taken thy measure thou Golgotha of the west. Thou callest thyself the garden city!

You claim to be the centre of the new democracy, of the great free west, of the land of plenty.

But with all thy democracy doth a man earn a living easier within thy borders, or have a happier time because thereof?

Does he not toil harder, have coarser fare, longer hours and a lower margin of subsistence? For a city of democracy must be judged by the status of its toilers and [not?] by the fine houses of her pork-packing princes.

Are not your workers being supplanted by Chinaman, by Polack and by Italian, who live on a much lower plane.

And does not the great blot of slavery show in thy streets more pointedly almost than anywhere else in a lot of diseased niggers?

Blood is the bans [bane?] of the hustling prosperity that now attends you and an adept pig-sticker is the embodiment of thy manhood!

I have been unable to authenticate the poem: the Toronto

⁶ P. 1, col. 7. I am grateful to the Toronto Public Library for furnishing a photostat of the poem. Since the name "Walt Whitman" is not listed in the 1884 Toronto city directory, a Toronto resident did not submit the poem.

⁷ J. Seymour Curry, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders* (Chicago, 1912), II, 394.

⁸ Eugene Staley, *History of the Illinois State Federation of Labor* (Chicago, 1930), pp. 159-160.

World's correspondence files were destroyed by fire in 1895;⁹ I could not find a manuscript.¹⁰ And Mr. H. L. Bucke, the son of Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke, who was visited by Whitman, in Ontario, in 1880, and who visited and corresponded with Whitman in the early eighties, writes: "I went over all my father's Whitman material very carefully some years ago—and do not remember anything in connection with Chicago" (letter of March 26, 1949). Nor does Dr. Edwin Seaborn "recollect any poem re Chicago" in his Bucke-Whitman materials (letter of April 15, 1949).

Possibly pointing to Whitman's authorship, however, is the fact that he was familiar with the verses in the Bible in which reference is made to *Golgotha*;¹¹ the Bible was on his table in 1885.¹² He also was exceedingly familiar with Shakespeare's *Richard II*,¹³ in which *Golgotha* is mentioned (IV, i, 144); a copy of the play was "near" him "at times" from 1860 to 1889.¹⁴ And in his notes for lectures he refers to *merchant princes*,¹⁵ a phrase similar to *pork-packing princes*, in section four. Furthermore, a concern

⁹ I am indebted to Mr. Oakley Dalgleish, editor-in-chief of the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, for this information (letter of April 1, 1949).

¹⁰ I have examined the Whitman collections and sales catalogues in the Brown University Library, the Duke University Library, the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the University of Pennsylvania Library, and the Yale University Library. Officials of fourteen libraries have kindly answered my query concerning a manuscript. Thanks are due Mr. Rollo G. Silver and Professor John Valente for their response to questions. There is no record of the sale of a manuscript in *American Book-Prices Current* (New York, 1896-1948).

¹¹ Gay W. Allen, "Biblical Echoes in Whitman's Works," *American Literature*, VI (Nov., 1934), 305, n. 41; 306, n. 72; 307, n. 102; 310, n. 158. See also Meredith Neill Posey, *Whitman's Debt to the Bible, with Reference to the Origins of his Rhythm* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1938). The references cited by Allen are from early writings. There is no reference to *Golgotha* in Edwin Harold Eby, *A Concordance of Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass and Selected Prose Writings*, . . . Part I (Seattle, 1949).

¹² George Selwyn [Walt Whitman], "Walt Whitman in Camden," *The Critic*, N. S. III (Feb. 28, 1885), 97. See also Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden* (New York, 1915), II, 314.

¹³ See, for example, Ellen M. O'Connor, "Personal Recollections of Walt Whitman," *The Atlantic Monthly*, XCIX (June, 1907), 828; Horace Traubel, "With Walt Whitman in Camden," *The Forum*, LIV (July, 1915), 81.

¹⁴ *Walt Whitman's Workshop*, ed. Clifton Joseph Furness (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 27, 196.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

for the oppression of labor is not atypical of Whitman,¹⁶ who "continued to the end of his life to be concerned with the interests and destiny of the laboring class in America."¹⁷ To Horace Traubel, in 1888, he remarked: "The disease ["the fearful gap between . . . rich and poor," in Traubel's words] . . . is seen at its dammededest in the big cities—New York, Philadelphia, Chicago. . . ." ¹⁸

But, on the other hand, Whitman's sympathies were with the immigrant;¹⁹ yet section five is not very sympathetic toward immigrants, although he might have written it; in addition, the use of the word *niggers*, in section six, is not typical of him. And Professor Gay Wilson Allen, to whom I am indebted for the suggestions in this paragraph, does not believe that the poem is written in Whitman's characteristic style (letter of March 19, 1949).²⁰ Indeed, it sounds more like a parody than Whitman at his worst.

Yet "Chicago" might be by Whitman. But, without any absolute evidence that it is, one can say only that it is an uncollected poem, possibly by Whitman.²¹

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¹⁶ See Newton Arvin, *Whitman* (New York, 1938), pp. 121-149.

¹⁷ Mrs. Alice Lovelace Cooke, "Whitman's Background in the Industrial Movements of the Time," *University of Texas Studies in English*, xv (1935), 76.

¹⁸ *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, II, 282. On another occasion, he spoke of the labor disturbances in Chicago. *Ibid.*, p. 478.

¹⁹ See, for instance, *The Gathering of the Forces*, ed. Cleveland Rodgers and John Black (New York, 1920), I, 18, 20, 164; Edward Carpenter, *Days with Walt Whitman* (London, 1906), p. 49; *Faint Clews and Indirections: Manuscripts of Walt Whitman and His Family*, ed. Clarence Gohdes and Rollo G. Silver (Durham, 1949), p. 25.

²⁰ I wish to thank Professor Edward H. Davidson for several valuable suggestions.

²¹ The fact that it was not published by Dr. Bucke, who had a clipping of the poem in his scrapbook, is not necessarily evidence against Whitman's authorship; for Bucke apparently made no attempt to add uncollected poems to *The Complete Writings*.

TWO MEETINGS WITH EMERSON

Wednesday, Dec. 4, 1895—Mr. Douglas, Boston Globe, calls this P. M. to interview me regarding my "greatest man." Talked intelligently, seemed gratified that I named *Emerson*.¹

The above notebook item registered an opinion from which John Townsend Trowbridge² never wavered during his long and active life. As early as 1858 he wrote to his sister in part as follows:

Emerson just completed a course of six lectures,³ the most invigorating words I have heard. I no longer regret Plato or Paul, when I can hear him.⁴

Trowbridge first met Emerson in the office of Phillips, Sampson and Company, a Boston firm which published the writings of both men. In his autobiography, Trowbridge recorded his memories of this cherished occasion, one all the more memorable, since, a few minutes before it occurred, Emerson had refused an introduction to Epes Sargent, a leading journalist on the editorial board of the *Boston Transcript*. The account of this meeting in Trowbridge's autobiography⁵ draws heavily upon his notebook. Since, however, the notebook entry is the fresher source and, in addition, contains material omitted from the later version, I am quoting liberally from it.

¹ Notebooks and letters referred to in this article are in the possession of Mrs. Albert P. Madeira, the granddaughter of Trowbridge.

² John Townsend Trowbridge (1827-1916), editor, poet, novelist, and writer of many juvenile stories, lived at Arlington, Massachusetts. He knew writers as divergent in time as Mordecai Noah and Booth Tarkington.

³ *The Boston Evening Transcript*, Mar. 3-Apr. 7, 1858, announced the Wednesday lectures at the Freeman Place Chapel on the days of delivery and the topics and dates are confirmed by the MS Memorandum book for this year: "Country Life," Mar. 3; "Work and Days," 10; "Powers of the Mind," 17; "The Natural Method of Mental Philosophy," 24; "Memory," 31; "Self-Possession," Apr. 7. The same paper for Apr. 8 praised the lecturer and his audience and rated the course a success in the fullest meaning of the term. (Rusk: *The Life and Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1939) v: 101, n. 37).

⁴ Letter dated April 9, 1858.

⁵ *My Own Story* (Boston and New York, 1903), 336-347. Italicized portions of the following quotations indicate material not included in the autobiography. Even those parts that were published were considerably revised.

June 5, 1857

. . . Returning to the bookstore, found Emerson with Mr. Phillips, so took my seat & newspaper, outside. In a little while Mr. P. came & said Mr. E. would like to see me. With considerable heartbeats, I went to meet the only man in this nation whom I do greatly reverence. I had always felt that if I deserved to know Emerson, the time would come, without the necessity of any self-intrusion into his presence, on my part. Though I had met him often before, I had never sought an introduction. We shook hands. I said, "I have long known you & loved you, but never had an opportunity to tell you so." He replied, "I have heard your name mentioned much oftener than I had any business to, not having yet found it in any way to reach your performance, which, I hear such good things said of." He proceeded to speak of the Magazine,⁶ said he had heard Mr. Lowell say that I was enlisted in the enterprise.⁷ "Do you reside in Boston? How can you afford to lose the woods and the fields? We get literature in the city, that's true; but we must go to the country to replenish." "We must have Woodnotes, Monadnock, & follow our Forerunners," said I. "Your memory is good," he said, with a smile, "I am more surprised at it, since owing to my sad want of fluency, my poems have seemed almost to fall dead. My prose has served to keep up a little interest in them; but I think they are scarcely known at all. It appears rather a hard thing to me, that I should be so wanting in the faculty, which in others delights me more than anything. How charming this fluency which many of our poets seem to have! Tennyson—he seems to be the most fluent of all. Of course you like Tennyson?" "Tennyson," I said, "was my second passion. But I seldom read him now." "Why not?" "Because I get to prefer the original, strong, poetic spirit, even expressed in crude words, to any fluency. Fluency is apt to run away with a man. The want of it results in condensation & point. I have given up all the fluent poets, & addicted myself to *Leaves of Grass*—I have become a Nebuchadnezzar, through Walt Whitman." "Ah, I am glad to know that! It takes a strong stomach to digest that kind of food. Whitman is a man of extraordinary vigor. His prose—his letter, and review of himself in the 2nd edition is as wonderful as his poetry. I understand, that Moncton Milne & (some other English writer—Leigh Hunt?) have written him highly commendatory letters. A gentleman had a letter for Whitman from Milne; but hearing that W. had not used me very well, he did not deliver it." Speaking of Alcott, Emerson said, "He is a very precious man; he is as little prized as Whitman." [Written above the line here are the words, "He has no show window."] He recommended highly Patmore's "*Angel in the House*." At parting he hoped we should meet again & what did I hope!

On his return home, Trowbridge wrote a letter⁸ (dated July 3,

⁶ *The Atlantic Monthly*.

⁷ Trowbridge's Story, "Pendlam," appeared in the first issue of *The Atlantic*.

⁸ Original belongs to the Emerson Memorial Association.

1857) to Emerson, addressing it to "My Dear Benefactor," and enclosing two poems.⁹

The second meeting with Emerson occurred years later in a far different setting. It was a meeting with an even more humble admirer than Trowbridge himself. The following excerpt is from a letter which Mrs. Alonzo Newton, the mother of Trowbridge's second wife, wrote to her son-in-law, July 24, 1874.

. . . At Concord the Great Man got in and took a seat beside your humble servant. I said as he took his paper to read, "Won't you have this seat, Mr. Emerson!" "No, I thank you," was his reply. "You have done so much for me in the past," I remarked, "it gives me pleasure to have the opportunity to do the smallest favor for you." "Ah—to whom am I in debt for the pleasant compliment?" So and so—I gave my name—and spoke of you—your great admiration of him, etc. He was pleased at the mention of your name and said, "What is he writing now; I used to see some very fine things from . . . but have missed him somewhat."—then related the burning of his house—illness caused by exposure at the time of his journey to Eng'd, etc. having used up the time and energy he used to spend otherwise in keeping track of the rising wisdom. I told him you had edited the *Young Folks*¹⁰ all those years it was published. "Yes, yes," he said, "but I think he should have been writing for the old folks instead—but there is no doubt he has a peculiar faculty in writing for young folks—what has he written lately?" I spoke of *Communion*.¹¹ "Had we a copy?" I told him we had not—, but believed it was published some two months ago—he said he would try and hunt it up, but wished as a special favor of you that you would send him a special copy of it—and any others you had—for he should be very glad to get them, as he remembered you used to write with a great deal of interest. He asked me if you liked Wordsworth and if you read Tennyson. He seemed to think Tennyson said everything in the best way and shot ahead of W.—but now W. is being appreciated more. W. said all T. has, but not in such an exquisite way, etc. We talked all the time—when the whistle would let us, and before he left he promised to send Mrs. N a book¹² of his which is to be published in a couple of months. I supposed you have not a copy of *Communion* that I could send to Mr. E.—or something—have you? I never saw him looking so well—he told me he was 71 years old. . . .

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⁹ Unidentifiable, not being among the Emerson papers.

¹⁰ *Our Young Folks* was published from 1865 to 1873.

¹¹ This poem appeared in *The Independent*, May 7, 1874.

¹² This is probably *Parnassus* (Boston, 1874).

THE COMPOSITION OF WILDE'S "THE HARLOT'S HOUSE"

In more than one sense, "The Harlot's House" was a fugitive piece. The poem was printed only once during Wilde's lifetime, in *The Dramatic Review* of April 11, 1885 (vol. I, no. 11, p. 167).¹ It was quoted, misquoted, and parodied; however, for some reason, the circumstances of original publication became a mystery even to the friends and professional associates of the poet. In 1899 Leonard Smithers, who had become Wilde's publisher after the latter's imprisonment, wrote to him for information on the subject, saying: "... I cannot find it in *The Dramatic Register* . . ." ² Robert Harborough Sherard left three records of the composition of "The Harlot's House." In *Oscar Wilde; the Story of an Unhappy Friendship*,³ he states that he was with his friend "all the time" the poem was being "elaborated," and that Wilde was then living in Paris at the Hotel Voltaire. *The Life of Oscar Wilde*⁴ clearly indicates that the period referred to is the spring of 1883.⁵ Once again years later, Sherard returned to the topic of "The Harlot's House" in *Bernard Shaw, Frank Harris & Oscar Wilde*,⁶ where he states that the poem was composed in 1885. However, it is most improbable that the author was a constant companion of Wilde in Paris at a time when the latter, a year married, was closely engaged in grinding his nose against the whetstone of London journalism. Undoubtedly the spring of 1883 is correct. Until long after Oscar Wilde's death, Sherard—or rather "Stuart Mason" (Christopher Millard), on whom he relied for bibliographical details about

¹ Stuart Mason, *Bibliography of Oscar Wilde*, London, T. Werner Laurie Ltd. [1914], p. 54.

² *Ibid.*, p. 538.

³ London, The Hermes Press (privately printed), 1902, p. 31.

⁴ New York, Brentano's, 1911. (The edition cited is the third; the biography was first published in 1906.)

⁵ The period is bounded by Sherard's reports that Wilde "... reached Paris in the spring of 1883 . . ." (p. 207) and "... returned to England in the summer of 1883 . . ." (p. 223). From *Oscar Wilde; the Story of an Unhappy Friendship* (pp. 80-81) we know that Sherard, after assisting at the composition of the poem, proceeded to England before Wilde, in time "... to meet the spring in Westmoreland . . ."

⁶ New York, The Greystone Press, 1937, p. 100.

Wilde—was unable to learn the original place of publication of "The Harlot's House."⁷ When Mason finally traced the poem to *The Dramatic Review* of 1885, the date must have stuck in Sherard's memory and afterwards clouded his recollection of the actual time of composition.

In a critical study of "The Harlot's House"⁸ and more explicitly in his *Studien zu Oscar Wilde's Gedichten*,⁹ Bernhard Fehr connected the poem with the Wilde-Whistler periodical war of 1885:

So schreibt Wilde, um gewissermaßen die Richtigkeit seiner Lehre praktisch zu veranschaulichen kurz nach dem Whistlerschen Angriff das Gedicht *The Harlot's House* . . .¹⁰

Fehr erred in the date of composition, but very probably he was right in supposing that publication of the poem served a topical purpose in the controversy with Whistler, by furnishing an instance of what Wilde had asserted on February 21, 1885, in his *Pall Mall* review of "Ten O'Clock": that ". . . the poet is the supreme artist, for he is the master of colour and form, and the real musician besides, and is lord over all life and all arts; and so to the poet, beyond all others, are these mysteries known . . ."

Whistler's "Ten O'Clock" lecture was repeated at Cambridge on March 24 and at Oxford on April 30.¹¹ "The Harlot's House," which was printed exactly midway of this five-week period, was offered to the Editor of *The Dramatic Review* in an undated letter¹² acknowledging payment for Wilde's first contribution to that journal. This article had appeared on March 14; so the letter might well have been written just after the lecture at Cambridge was given or announced, when Wilde would not be in a pleasant mood over Whistler's invasion of the British universities with a speech contemptuous of his own art and personality.

But why had the poem been withheld from the press during the previous two years? Surely, the answer is that Wilde, consciously

⁷ Cf. *The Life of Oscar Wilde*, pp. 220, 393.

⁸ "Oscar Wildes 'The Harlot's House,'" *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, [n. s.] xxxiv (1916), 59-75.

⁹ *Palaestra*, no. 100, Berlin, Mayer & Müller, 1918.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

¹¹ E. R. and J. Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, 5th ed., Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1911, p. 244.

¹² Printed by Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

designing a minor masterpiece of decadent verse, had not regarded it as finished; doubtless, he still did not regard it as quite ready for publication.¹³ Certain lines are not wholly satisfactory in phrasing or rhythm: e. g.—

But she—she heard the violin
and—

Upon the steps like a live thing

Some, including the second line quoted just above, can be seen in the process of experiment from Mason's facsimiles and diplomatic transcriptions of the surviving manuscript fragments.¹⁴ Wilde tried every possible arrangement of "like live things" and "like a live thing," evidently without ever quite achieving the desired cadence. The excessively sibilant line—

The "Treues Liebes Herz" of Strauss

appears to have been tentative, by its form in the manuscript; and a still earlier fragment shows that a shift of stress was not at first intended in the opening foot of—

Making fantastic arabesques

Another break in the rhythm occurs in the last line of the poem, where the earlier version—

Crept like a little frightened girl
became—

Crept like a frightened girl

Here, of course, the alteration is preferable to the original, but Wilde possibly might have hoped to achieve an equal effect without the suppression of one beat.

Fehr¹⁵ discovered definite or likely influences on "The Harlot's House" in several French writers, and also in Poe's "The Haunted Palace" (from "The Fall of the House of Usher"). He over-

¹³ He withheld *The Sphinx*, on which he was working at least as early as on "The Harlot's House," until 1894. The poems are similar in the evident care Wilde gave to furbishing and refurbishing the language. The letter offering the shorter poem for publication, previously cited, reflects the importance Wilde evidently attached to the piece: he requested that no other poem be printed in the same number of *The Dramatic Review*.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 56-58.

¹⁵ "Oscar Wilde's 'The Harlot's House,'" *passim*.

looked, however, another possible source in Poe. "The Masque of the Red Death" seems at least as apt to have helped suggest the dance-of-death motif as Baudelaire's description of Alfred Rethel's woodcut of the cholera in Paris.¹⁶ By diction as well as theme, the story could have contributed something to "The Harlot's House." In three successive sentences, for example, occur the words "grotesque," "phantasm," and "arabesque" referring to a revel. The music and the waltz stop suddenly, as in the poem. Both the prince and the hour (midnight) have their counterparts in a superseded stanza of "The Harlot's House."¹⁷ It may be worth mentioning that Sherard names Poe as a principal source of inspiration to Wilde at the time of composition of *The Sphinx* and "The Harlot's House."¹⁸ He adds: "In the 'Harlot's House' . . . Oscar Wilde was more himself." Still, no one familiar with Wilde's habitually free treatment of sources would infer, from this qualifying statement, that the poem was untouched by outside influences.

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NOTES ON YEATS'S 'LAPIS LAZULI'

Yeats wrote 'Lapis Lazuli' in July 1936.¹ The subject of the poem is the possible destruction of contemporary civilisation, a theme with which Yeats had long been preoccupied, and which he treated in many of his later poems. The first stanza states that the poet has heard that hysterical women are sick of painting, music, and 'Of poets that are always gay,' in view of the dangers of the political situation and the threat of bombing raids. The statement develops into general tragedy:

. . . if nothing drastic is done
Aeroplane and Zeppelin will come out,
Pitch like King Billy bomb-balls in
Until the town lie beaten flat.²

¹⁶ Cited in *ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

¹⁷ See Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 56 (facsimile).

¹⁸ *The Life of Oscar Wilde*, p. 220.

¹ Information from Mrs. W. B. Yeats. Cf. W. B. Yeats, *Letters on Poetry to Dorothy Wellesley*, p. 91, where he describes the poem as 'almost the best I have made of recent years.'

² W. B. Yeats, *Last Poems & Plays*, p. 4.

The Zeppelin, anachronistic for bombing purposes in 1936, is probably due to the poet's memories of air raids on London in the 1914-1918 war. The "bomb-balls," however, are of older origin, for they seem to be derived from 'The Battle of the Boyne,' a ballad included in *Irish Minstrelsy*, an anthology edited by H. Halliday Sparling:

King James has pitched his tent between
The lines for to retire;
But King William threw his bomb-balls in
And set them all on fire.³

The echo is stronger than the original. As well as calling King William King Billy, a name more likely to stir up immediate historical and political memories and associations in an Irishman, Yeats took over the word 'pitch' and used it for the bomb-balls instead of the tent. It is more suitable than the original's 'threw,' or, as might have been expected for an accurate description of the action of bombing from the air, 'dropped'; it has the necessary touch of violence that he required.

From the brief but effective picture of general tragedy in the first stanza the second moves to particular instances, to Hamlet, Lear, Cordelia and Ophelia. Hysterical women had complained of poets who were always gay, but the word is taken up again in this stanza and the complaint answered; there is an implicit comparison of Cordelia and Ophelia with the modern hysterical women the poet had in his mind, to the disadvantage of the latter. Those who are worthy of their tragic roles

Do not break up their lines to weep.
They know that Hamlet and Lear are gay;
Gaiety transfiguring all that dread.

These lines represent Yeats's own attitude to tragedy. He had in early youth imagined himself in the role of a Hamlet,⁴ had developed the idea of Cuchulain as a suitable hero for his mytholo-

³ H. Halliday Sparling (Ed.), *Irish Minstrelsy* (1888), p. 319. There is a copy of this anthology, inscribed by the editor, in Yeats's library. It contained a poem by Yeats, who probably first met Sparling at the home of William Morris. Cf. a passage from Elizabeth Yeats's diary for 1888-89, quoted by Joseph Hone, 'A Scattered Fair,' *The Wind and the Rain*, Autumn 1946, p. 113.

⁴ W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies*, p. 58.

gising processes in middle age, and later, in his obsession with the theory of history formulated in *A Vision*, he had returned to an old idea taken from Shelley of the man who had outlived 'Cycles of generation and of ruin,'⁵ and looked on at the vicissitudes of human civilisation with detachment. These roles, Hamlet, Cuchulain, the old man, were taken up by Yeats in order to face death unperturbed. The part of the somewhat inhuman spectator eventually arrived at has not a little in common with Yeats's desire, expressed in 'Sailing to Byzantium,' to sing 'Of what is past, or passing, or to come.'⁶ There it was to be achieved in the form of an artificial bird; in this poem as the spokesman of the hero:

I think that the true poetic movement of our time is towards some heroic discipline. People much occupied with morality always lose heroic ecstasy. Those who have it most often are those Dowson has described (I cannot find the poem but the lines run like this or something like this)

Wine and women and song
To us they belong
To us the bitter and gay.

'Bitter and gay,' that is the heroic mood. When there is despair, public or private, when settled order seems lost, people look for strength within or without. Auden, Spender, all that seem the new movement look for strength in Marxian socialism, or in Major Douglas; they want marching feet. The lasting expression of our time is not this obvious choice but in a sense of something steel-like and cold within the will, something passionate and cold.⁷

In 'Sailing to Byzantium' he wished to escape from 'that sensual music' of life; in 'Lapis Lazuli' he is making a gesture of defiance in the face of what seemed to him the inevitable coming of death upon our civilisation; but he could also, towards the end of his life, come far nearer reality:

I thought my problem was to face death with gaiety, now I have learned that it is to face life.⁸

The third stanza of the poem links the personal and public tragedies together and reaffirms the need for gaiety:

⁵ P. B. Shelley, *Hellas*, ll. 162 seq.

⁶ W. B. Yeats, *Collected Poems*, p. 217.

⁷ W. B. Yeats, *Letters on Poetry to Dorothy Wellesley*, p. 8.

⁸ W. B. Yeats, *Op. cit.*, p. 164.

On their feet they came, or on shipboard,
 Camel-back, horse-back, ass-back, mule-back,
 Old civilisations put to the sword. . . .
 All things fall and are built again,
 And those that build them again are gay.

The fourth stanza, a description of a piece of lapis lazuli, appears to break the sequence of the poem abruptly, but a letter to Lady Gerald Wellesley illustrates its significance and relation to the theme:

Someone has sent me a present of a great piece carved by some Chinese sculptor into the semblance of a mountain with temple, trees, paths and an ascetic and pupil about to climb the mountain. Ascetic, pupil, hard stone, eternal theme of the sensual east. The heroic cry in the midst of despair. But no, I am wrong, the east has its solutions always and therefore knows nothing of tragedy. It is we, not the east, that must raise the heroic cry.^o

In the last stanza Yeats pulls the poem together again; the bitter and gay are to meet despair and show forth the heroic mood. Gaiety predominates over bitterness, however, and the ending is more serene and less dramatic than might have been expected from what had gone before. The picture of the ascetic and pupil conveys serenity, and the poet allows his own thoughts to merge with those of the Chinamen, delighting

. . . to imagine them seated there;
 There, on the mountain and the sky,
 On all the tragic scene they stare.
 One asks for mournful melodies;
 Accomplished fingers begin to play.
 Their eyes mid many wrinkles, their eyes,
 Their ancient, glittering eyes, are gay.

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SPENDER'S "I THINK CONTINUALLY OF THOSE"

There is an intentioned, enriching ambiguity in the last lines of this poem. The final lines read:

^o W. B. Yeats, *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

The names of those who in their lives fought for life,
 Who wore at their hearts the fire's center.
 Born of the sun they travelled a short while towards the sun,
 And left the vivid air signed with their honor.

Earlier in the poem the words "suns," "fire," and "sun" appear. Each of these words evokes the idea of burning and flame. Here in these final four lines appear "fire's," "sun," "sun" again, and "vivid," all of which once more suggest burning and flame. With such a crescendo of images, it is understandable that when the undersigned first read Mr. Spender's poem he "misread" the last line as follows:

And left the vivid air *singed* with their honor.

The heroic men, that is, had flamed across the sky; their names were burned into the horizon. Their fiery ardor had blazed in the sky and left it marked with their achievement. Mr. Spender's word of course is "signed." But impelled by the fiery images throughout the poem, the mind considers that the honor of such men is not only signed in the air but that the air as well is actually singed by their blazing presence.

The present writer took occasion to ask Mr. Spender¹ whether he had debated using "singed" in place of "signed," and whether he had intended the strong double reading explained above. Mr. Spender answered that he had considered using either word and that the ambiguity is intended and desirable. The additional strength afforded the poem by this double reading—carefully prepared for by previous images within the poem and made well-nigh inevitable by the likeness of letters within "signed" and "singed"—is surely what William Empson meant when he admiringly called ambiguity "any verbal nuance, however slight, which gives room for alternative reactions to the same piece of language."²

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¹ At Taos, New Mexico, in August 1948.

² William Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (Great Britain: New Directions, 1947), p. 1. Mr. Spender's usage seems an ideal example of Empson's first or archetypal ambiguity, which occurs when "a word or a grammatical structure is effective in several ways at once." *Ibid.*, p. 2.

AN EMENDATION OF THE TEXT OF BOSCÁN'S
HISTORIA DE LEANDRO Y HERO

Cirene tells her son Aristeus about Proteus (*Las Obras de Boscán*, ed. William I. Knapp, Madrid, 1875, p. 329):

Allá en la mar del isla de Carpató,
Un adevino está de ilustre fama,
Ha por nombre Proteo, el qual corriendo
En su carro llevado por caballos
Marinos (la mitad atrás son peces)
Por el campo del agua da sus vueltas;
No ha mucho que él acá volvió en Tesalia,
A gozar de su patria deseada.
Las Ninfas le *vencieron*, y Nereo
Por su saber, . . .

The verb *vencieron* does not make sense. The nymphs, according to mythology, never vanquished Proteus. The editions of (Rome?), 1547, Leon, 1549, Antwerp, 1575 (nos. 6, 8, 20 in Knapp's bibliographic appendix) print the subjunctive *vencieran*, which is worse. The source of the Aristeus episode is Virgil's *Georgics*, iv, 315-558.¹ The corrupt line is evidently a translation of Virgil's lines 391-392:

hunc et Nymphae veneramur et ipse
grandaevus Nereus,

and *vencieron* or *vencieran* should read *veneran*, the form *vencieran* being a misreading of the correct form, as the syllable *-ran* seems to indicate. The emendation provides us with a meaningful verb in the correct tense. The present is in accordance with the lines describing Proteus' actual status, interrupted only once by a preterite in a phrase providing a bit of background information (*acá volvió en Tesalia*; cf. the perfect *revisit* in Virgil, line 390).

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¹ See M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Obras completas*, Ed. Nac., Madrid, 1945, xxvi, 301, 311-312.

REVIEWS

The Tragedy of Philotas by Samuel Daniel. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by LAURENCE MICHEL. Yale Studies in English, Vol. 110. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. xii + 181 pp.

Peter Hausted's Senile Odium. Edited and Translated by LAURENS J. MILLS. Indiana University Publications, Humanities Series No. 19. Bloomington, Ind., 1949. 201 pp.

Ten English Farces. [Edited by] LEO HUGHES and A. H. SCOUTEN. Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1948. xiv + 286 pp.

The three books reviewed here, all reprints of seventeenth and eighteenth-century plays, are welcome additions to the list of texts available to students of the theater.

A better and more accessible edition of *Philotas* than Grosart's has been needed for a long time. Mr. Michel prints the text of the 1623 *Workes* together with an introduction of 94 pages, textual notes, and two brief appendixes. His text is reliable; in an hour's checking I have found only two rather slight errors (297 *loued* = *lou'd*; 590 *lease* = *least*). In printing the text of 1623, however, Mr. Michel often emends it according to that of the 1607 *Small Workes*, which embodies revisions by the author ignored in the posthumous edition of 1623. The reasons given for this roundabout procedure are not cogent. The text of 1623 "on the whole is by far the most carefully edited and printed version." But what we really want is the most *authoritative* version, which would seem to be that of 1607. As a matter of fact, the differences between 1607 and 1623 which Mr. Michel does not adopt are mostly orthographic and inconsequential, so that he would have arrived at almost the same result by simply reprinting 1607. The bibliographical portion of Mr. Michel's introduction is in fact a trifle naive. His transcriptions of titlepages are not impeccable. He states that three formes of the 1605 edition were corrected in press, though without specifying the readings affected, but he says nothing about similar variants in the 1607 and 1623 texts on which his own is mainly based and presumably made no comparison of copies. Mr. Michel says that "there are easily in excess of 5,000" variants in the texts which he compared. He himself lists about 110. Without doubt most of these variants are orthographic and inconsiderable, but one suspects that a slightly higher proportion would be interesting enough to report.¹ Happily, however, these

¹ Some of the readings of 1607 which he rejects probably represent the

peculiarities subtract little or nothing from the usefulness of Mr. Michel's text.

Mr. Michel devotes the greater part of his introduction to Daniel's political philosophy and the sources of the play. Of the former he gives a full and illuminating account. He shows that Daniel was a non-systematic thinker to whom ambition and despotism were equally abhorrent and that he never quite made up his mind whether the story of Philotas illustrates the one or the other. His remarks on *Philotas* as a work of art are largely confined to its literary affinities and to parallel passages in other poems by Daniel. He also considers at length the alleged connection of the play and its hero with the Earl of Essex. Everybody knows that Daniel was suspected of representing the earl's downfall in the guise of that of Philotas and that he disclaimed any intention of doing so. Mr. Michel will not take his word for it. He argues that in finishing the play after the execution of Essex Daniel turned it into "an indictment of tyranny and the intrigues of courtiers." The hypothesis is difficult to prove or to disprove. Mr. Michel relies on parallels between the play and the records of the Essex trial and on contradictions in the play itself to make good his case. The parallels are not impressive: Philotas, Essex, and all other high-flying favorites were accused of the same crimes. Since the contradictions inherent in the play are inherent in Daniel's political philosophy, it does not seem necessary to bring in Essex to explain them.

Philotas is a rigidly classical play: it consists entirely of discussion of action rather than of action itself. It is most undramatic according to the usual definition of the dramatic. But it is not uninteresting. At the very least it is weighty and dignified, sober and detached. Its virtues are certainly not superior to those of the usual tempestuous Elizabethan tragedy, but they are different from them. As almost the only play of its kind to be performed in public, *Philotas* is noteworthy, and it is very satisfactory to have a good edition of it generally available.

Professor Mills' edition of the academic play *Senile Odium* is a pendant to his monograph on Peter Hausted. He prints the Latin text and his translation on opposite pages and provides a little apparatus (two pages of introduction and something more than five of notes). The translation reads easily and is indeed sometimes highly colloquial, though my ignorance of spoken Latin does not admit of my detecting a specially colloquial tone in the passages so translated. I see no objection to Mr. Mills' using the vernacular for the speeches of low characters (unless the difficulties

author's intention better than what he prints, e.g.: 300 *the'a* (i.e. *thee* a elided) 1607, *the a* 1623; 373 *silly witted* 1607; *silly wittied* (almost certainly a misprint) 1623; 521 *spirit*, 1607, *spirit*; 1623; 802 *off* 1607, *of* 1623; 1001 *thee* 1607, *the* 1623; 1686 *m'haue* 1607, *me haue* 1623; 1891 *seizd* 1607, *seazed* 1623. (Most of these are not listed among his variants.)

which words like *hoosegow* and *pronto* may present to non-Americans are an objection), but it makes a little trouble for him in preserving consistency of tone. "Tricongio, those gay duds you're wearing—what owner do they admit?" combines slang and elegant periphrasis, and some of the speeches of Tricongio which are peppered with slang and vulgar diction at the same time preserve the intricate Latin sentence structure. Sometimes Mr. Mills does not resist the temptation to smarten the dialog, as when he inserts volleys of hiccups in the speeches of the drunken Tricongio or renders "Nescio" as "Damned if—Sirs, I don't know."

The play is a favorable specimen of early seventeenth-century academic comedy. It is concocted of the most familiar motifs of Latin comedy, but, except perhaps for a long-drawn-out dénouement, the combination is sufficiently ingenious. The romantic tribulations of the young lovers in circumventing their unsympathetic fathers are treated somewhat perfunctorily and the main emphasis is on trickery and horseplay. An unexpected character is Euphues "Anglus; verbivendulus, et caeremoniarum magister" who appears briefly in a most unflattering light. The combination of suave Latinity with lovelorn youths, irascible old men, pedants and quacks, and a drunken bookseller seasons the play nicely for the academic palate.

The ten farces reprinted by Messrs. Hughes and Scouten are *A Duke and No Duke*, by Tate (1684), *The Emperor of the Moon*, by Mrs. Behn (1687), *The Anatomist*, by Ravenscroft (1696), *Hob, or the Country Wake*, by Thomas Doggett (1711), *The Cobler of Preston*, by Charles Johnson (1716), *The Devil to Pay*, by Charles Coffey out of Thomas Jevon (1731), *The Bulker Bilk'd*, by Christopher Bullock, *The Brave Irishman*, by Thomas Sheridan (1743), *Appearance is against them*, by Mrs. Inchbald (1785), *No Song, No Supper*, by Prince Hoare (1790). The editors provide a full and interesting historical introduction to each and a minimum of notes, mostly on matters theatrical. They frankly make no attempt to deal with the difficult problem of textual authority and have selected arbitrarily the versions they print. The texts are printed with very little editorial manipulation; even erratic and accidental readings are often preserved. Prologs, epilogs, and other separable elements are occasionally omitted, sometimes with notice and sometimes without (e. g., the prolog to *Appearance is against them*). Unfortunately, the texts are not as accurate as one would wish; in making a few tests at random I have noted a good many deviations from the originals, some of them serious.²

²The following are perhaps not obvious: *I love but* (p. 13) = *I love you but*; the line *Yet were she virtuous she would ne'r allow* (p. 13) should be followed by *This wicked Pandar so familiar with her*; by *Husbands Voice* (p. 31) = *my Husbands Voice*; *This unkind* (p. 32) = *This is unkind*; *Then he that Constancy profest* (p. 51) = *Then she . . .*; *when are 'tis safe* (p. 60) = *when ere 'tis safe*; the speech of Elaria *'Tis all amaze-*

These farces are of little literary interest except when they are the offspring of famous plays or embody well-known themes. They belong to the history of the stage, of which they were long a mainstay. The popularity of the more durable farces, judged by the number of performances recorded, eclipsed that of all but a few of the plays which we think of as masterpieces. Of the audience which gathered at Drury Lane on 24 September 1754 to see *Macbeth* and *The Devil to Pay* it would be difficult to say how many came to see the tragedy and how many the farce, but it is not certain that the latter were the less numerous. These plays are not very amusing to read, for the life of farce is in the action. There is ample reason to think that the scene of Crispin on the dissecting table in *The Anatomist* provoked uproarious laughter, but it must have been the antics of the panic-stricken Crispin that turned the trick, for the lines are not particularly funny. There is much of interest from various points of view in these plays, and students of the stage will find an examination of the book rewarding.

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All Coherence Gone: The Seventeenth-century Controversy on the Decay of Nature—a Turning Point in Modern Intellectual History. By VICTOR HARRIS. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1949. Pp. x + 255. \$5.00.

From almost the beginning of time and particularly in the Christian Era, the doctrine of the degeneration of man and of his world has been the theme of many philosophers and theologians and the begetter of a rather poignant kind of heart-wringing pessimism. The theory of continuous decline was frequently expressed in the sixteenth century and reached an argumentative

ment . . . two Princes (p. 79) is an accidental conflation of the two preceding speeches and does not appear in the original; *And nightly in Disguise Bed her* (p. 81) = *And nightly in Disguises Bed her*; *Most Noble Youth—you've honour'd me with your Alliance* (p. 82) = *Most Noble Youths . . .*; *But I'll clay you for't* (p. 119) = *But I'll claw . . .*; the verses at the top of p. 147 belong to the first footnote at the bottom; the words *How came I here?*—preceding a speech of Diego (p. 156) belong to the end of Kit's speech at the foot of the column; *he loves a Cup of Bale* (p. 162) = *he loves a Cup of Ale*; *To his mad Politicks I bid Farewell* (p. 168) = *To this mad Politicks . . .*; after *my Wife bawls* (p. 209) the following words have been omitted: *I thunder and kick the Boys like a Fury*; here are the *Writings to that Rogue Vizard's Estate* (p. 216) = *here are the Writings of . . .*; and is it *Twenty to One* (p. 216) = *and it is . . .*; *He gave it to me this minute* (p. 247) = *He gave it me . . .*; the most poignant reproofs of an inward monitor for the guilty fault of my own (p. 262) = . . . *the guilty folly of my own*; *Carew* (p. 269) = *Carey*.

summit in the controversy between Godfrey Goodman and George Hakewill in the early seventeenth century. Even after men had agreed that nature had not altered much, they continued to debate the question of man's degeneracy. The controversy prolonged itself until the work of critical archaeologists and evolutionary scientists of the nineteenth century assured man of a certain pre-eminence and a comparative durability. Yet the old doctrine did not die completely. There are still those who think Homer the greatest poet and who believe the halls of Minos to be better than Rockefeller Center.

Dr. Harris examines this question in his dissertation and begins sensibly with the Hakewill-Goodman controversy. He gets excellent results because he has been trained in the superb Chicago technique of analysis and he can discriminate between intellectual tempers, major premises, essential arguments. In a way there was no controversy at all, and Dr. Harris realizes, as few historians of ideas do, that the same idea has different connotations in different contexts.

In the second division of the book, Dr. Harris gathers the grains of the discussion as he finds them scattered here and there both before and after the major contention. He is faced with the difficulty that confronts all historians of ideas: shall the material be presented in a chronological or categorical method? He attempts, unfortunately, a compromise and the result is interesting bibliographically but highly repetitious. There are also a few inconsistencies. A work written by a German in Latin is quoted from the French translation, whereas a work written in French is quoted from the English translation. A decision to quote in English would have been helpful. The last section in which the basic arguments of Goodman and Hakewill are analysed and criticised in regards to both their generation and propagation is excellent, a pattern for monographs of this type.

The reader will be interested to discover how little the effect of this discussion was on contemporary men of letters. In a way, Dr. Harris' book is a commentary on Donne and a prologue to Professor Jones' study of the quarrel between the ancients and the moderns. If Dr. Harris will follow the thread of this idea through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in a subsequent volume, he may surprise us with what he finds of literary importance, especially in the field of criticism. It is, I suspect, in these centuries that the echoes of the discussion of 1616-30 made a loud and constant, though somewhat modified, noise.

D. C. A.

Sir Philip Sidney: Le chevalier poète élizabéthain. By MICHEL POIRIER. Lille: Bibliothèque Universitaire de Lille, 1948. Pp. 322.

This is the traditional large French dissertation divided into the customary sections: "État présent des études sidnéiennes," "L'homme"—in this instance "Le chevalier"—, and "L'oeuvre." M. Poirier has read all of the extant literature with a nice understanding and here he reveals to the French literary world its salient aspects. The book is essentially complete rather than original, but it is important that France has now produced a full length portrait of a man who had so many French friends and owed so much to them.

For the "Life," Poirier sensibly depends on Wallace, but he stresses certain details that have not been emphasized before. He attributes, for example, Philip's early ill-health to the conjectured nervous state of his mother prior to his birth. He finds a possible justification of Aubrey's hint of an incestuous attachment between Philip and his sister in the Klaius-Strephon interludes. He sees the lady of *Astrophel* returning in Philoclea; Pyrocles calls her "my onely Starre" and we learn that she, too, has dark eyes, blond hair, and a fine voice.

In the second half of the book Poirier does not come up to expectations. As a Frenchman he is expected to produce a substantial critique of Sidney's works and certainly there is important work to be done on the nature of Sidney's rhetorical and esthetic principles. Poirier tries his hand at this but he is too handicapped by previous British and American studies to swim safely to a bright French shore. In some of his more original sections, he attempts to evaluate Sidney's ideas but he knows too little about the English sixteenth-century ambient to be successful. He attempts also an esthetic rehabilitation of Sidney's experiments in quantitative metrics—the best that I have read—but his exposition lacks critical thoroughness. However, he points directions that would bring important results if they were closely followed.

At times Poirier becomes a literary detective in the old-fashioned American and German manner. One remembers that Sidney sometimes describes an Arcadian character as "looking like" some mythological figure "as he (or she) is painted." Poirier attempts to trace the painting. He offers some rather absurd parallels between Gosson's and Sidney's writings. He rebukes scholars for failing to notice that *Gorboduc* is an *Arcadian* source although the proofs that he presents are universal rather than particular. But I forgive him this; he has been reading American scholarly journals.

A few faults in form may be mentioned. The French printers, as is their custom, have done their worst with the typography. In

addition, I am bothered by the author's uncertainty about the recording of English titles. Sometimes they are in English; sometimes in French. They should be uniformly in English since even the French reader must find *Mélanges de Tottel* or *Paradis de délicates fantaisies* a little daring.

In conclusion, it can certainly be said that this book may be superseded in originality of research and critical ideas, but for the moment it is the most complete study of Sidney that we have.

D. C. A.

Tennyson Sixty Years After. By PAULL F. BAUM. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948. Pp. xii + 331. \$4.50.

Mr. Baum's book is welcome as the first extended reconsideration of Tennyson's poetry since Hugh Fausset's and Harold Nicolson's studies appeared a quarter-century ago. In comparison with earlier estimates both Fausset's and Nicolson's were severe. Mr. Baum's is also severe, much more severe than I can approve, but it has important nuances, and a great number of discerningly appreciative passages. The book opens with a rather full account of the obituary articles and a more casual sampling of opinion down to the present. In a single long and excellently organized chapter Tennyson's life and career are reviewed. The body of the book is given to an examination and estimate of the poems taken chronologically. No poem of importance is overlooked. There is a concluding critical essay packed with valuable perceptions, but at times confusing by reason of a way of thinking and feeling that is so averse to simplification that a reader is often in doubt where the main stresses are falling.

The most valuable pages in the book are in the critiques of single poems, *e. e.* "Oenone" (pp. 75-82), "Ulysses" (pp. 92-96, pp. 290-303), "In Memoriam"—which Mr. Baum does not consider a single work, but a covey of lyrics (pp. 112-132), and "Lucretius" (pp. 147-154). On all these poems there are acute observations, independent and sometimes startling, the result of long concern with Tennyson's and with the currents of feeling in his time. The examination of "Lucretius" is undoubtedly the most subtle and exact that poem has yet received. The examination of "Ulysses" seems to me marred by a radical want of sympathy with Tennyson's conception, which may be illustrated by Mr. Baum's reproof of Ulysses for his disdainful rejection of his son's way of life: "One does not brave the struggle of life by craving fresh adventure and 'new things,' or by sailing beyond the sunset. One does not brave the struggle of life by abandoning one's wife or

indulging one's desire of travel, by following knowledge like a sinking star, by resigning prudence, the useful and the good, the sphere of common duties, the offices of tenderness—to one's son." This radical want of sympathy appears in other parts of the book, and, as here, prevents Mr. Baum from responding to qualities that to some other interpreters of Tennyson have seemed among the best not only in his poetry but in that of the century.

E. K. BROWN

University of Chicago

BRIEF MENTION

Titus Andronicus. By WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. The New Shakespeare edited by JOHN DOVER WILSON. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press and The Macmillan Company, 1948. Front.; pp. lxxii + 174. \$3.00. This volume of the New Cambridge series is chiefly remarkable for its editor's characteristically bold and ingenious treatment of the problem of authorship, to which both the Introduction and a considerable portion of the Notes are principally devoted. A short "provinces" piece by Peele alone, it is argued, was quickly reworked into the present play by Peele, now aided by the masterful but sometimes mocking art of Shakespeare, for acting in London by the Earl of Sussex' men (with whom Shakespeare has no other associations) early in 1594.

CHARLTON HINMAN

CORRESPONDENCE

SHAKESPEARE'S MUSICAL BACKGROUND. That Shakespeare was acquainted with Thomas Morley is generally conceded, but to claim for this relationship and Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597) the sole source of Shakespeare's knowledge of the gamut is impossible.¹ The musical conversations in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (III. 1. 73 ff.), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (III. 2. 204), and *Romeo and Juliet* (IV. 5. 120 ff.), all anterior to *The Shrew*, reveal a knowledge of the gamut. In the sestet to Sonnet 8 Shakespeare shows knowledge of the theory of resonance, and the use of burden, close, crotchet, descant, diapason, division, ground, minim, rest, relish, and triplex is further evidence of a more than superficial acquaintance with music.

For the source of the gamut and Shakespeare's knowledge of music in general we have to examine the musical environment in which Shakespeare found himself both at Stratford and in London. In the Stratford Grammar School the students most likely began and ended their day with a psalm and in all probability were taught other songs as well. Music was an essential part of education, and Shakespeare's masters, Oxford men, most likely were required to "*Bene le bene con bene can,*" that is, write well translate well, and sing well. It is impossible to conceive that the gamut and its complications was not known before Morley's scale was drawn, and then as now, schoolboys most likely learned it early in their career. If Shakespeare was educated, as has been suggested by Gray,² Chambers,³ Baker,⁴ and others, in the home of some gentleman or nobleman outside of Stratford, his musical background would have been more than adequate because music was so important a factor in the education of a page and gentleman. But musicians and instruments were also available in Stratford.⁵

But the city of London would have taught him as much and more. The smooth-shaven Shakespeare of the Droeshout engraving would have been a frequent visitor of the local barber where musical instruments were always available. If Shakespeare did not play while he waited he at least would have heard discussion on instruments, music, composition, playing, and singing by those who did. When Shakespeare visited a brothel he might have conversed with the musicians who played the "moody food of us that trade in love" (*A & C*, II. 5. 1-2). Certainly at the London ordinaries he would have been entertained by some wandering musicians or "Sneaks's noise" (*2HIV*, II. 4. 13)—and their qualities would no doubt have been discussed by the listeners. And when Shakespeare was invited to the homes of the rich and noble he heard more of music because all gentlemen could read a part at sight.

From Morley his neighbor in Bishopsgate he learned more; and from John Wilbye the composer, from John Weelkes whose madrigal tells of a pleasant meeting at the Mermaid Tavern, from John Bull, Professor of Music at Gresham College in Bishopsgate Street—or his students, from the famed musical Bassano family and Giles Farnaby who lived in the same parish, and from John Daniel, the musical brother of Samuel,

¹ J. H. Long, "Shakespeare and Thomas Morley," *MLN*, LXV, 17-22 (Jan. 1950).

² Arthur Gray, *A Chapter in the Early Life of Shakespeare*, Cambridge, 1923, pp. 53 ff.

³ E. K. Chambers, *Sources for a Biography of Shakespeare*, Oxford, 1946 p. 11.

⁴ Oliver Baker, *In Shakespeare's Warwickshire and the Unknown Years*, London, 1937, p. 305.

⁵ Cf. J. M. Dent, "Shakespeare and Music," in *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, Barker & Harrison, New York, 1940, p. 153; E. I. Fripp, *Shakespeare, Man and Artist*, Oxford, 1938, p. 125, 119, 124.

Shakespeare in all likelihood absorbed more. John Dowland the lutanist may have been Shakespeare's friend, and an acquaintance with Henry Lawes is indicated by the latter's setting of the 116th Sonnet.⁶ Even if some of these influences are chronologically too late, any or all of them may have contributed something to the music of the plays and poems.

The dramatic environment is another important factor with which to contend. The professional assistance of minstrels in early plays, and the interpolations of popular songs in other later plays also fostered the musical tradition. The musical examples set by Edwardes, Farrant, Hunnis and other choirmasters with the choirboy actors added to the musical atmosphere,⁷ and James Burbage's Royal Patent of May, 1574 permitted the actors to perform their plays "together with their musick."⁸ Musicians were employed by the companies and they acted as supers when no music was necessary. There is also evidence that music often preceded and followed performances of the plays. Philip Henslowe's *Diary* reveals that the Rose Theatre possessed more than a dozen instruments and Shakespeare's company must not be presumed to have possessed a lesser amount.

In Shakespeare's own company Will Kemp was well known as an instrumentalist and composer, and Augustine Phillips, also an actor-musician, willed some of his instruments to his apprentices, James Sands and Samuel Gilburne. From these associates and from other actor musicians of whom we have no record, Shakespeare must have derived some additional musical benefit.

It is from these influences—not only from Morley's book—that the omni-observant Shakespeare absorbed his musical education.

LOUIS MARDER

Brooklyn College

⁶ For all these cf. F. A. Cox, *English Madrigals in the Time of Shakespeare*, London, 1899 pp. 9-10; Ernest Brennecke, Jr. "Shakespeare's Musical Collaboration with Morley," *PMLA*, LIV, 145-6; Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, Oxford, 1930, I, 568; Peter Warlock (Philip Heseltine), *The English Ayre*, pp. 32-3, 53; Karl Elze, *William Shakespeare*, London, 1888, p. 412; George Brandes, *William Shakespeare*, London, 1898, p. 200; W. M. Evans, "Lawes' Version of Shakespeare's Sonnet cxvi," *PMLA*, LI 122 (March, 1936), and the same author's *Henry Lawes*, N. Y., 1946, pp. 41 ff.

⁷ Cf. M. C. Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism*, Philadelphia, 1940, pp. 198 ff.

⁸ Cf. W. J. Lawrence, "Music in the Elizabethan Theatre," *The Musical Quarterly*, VI, 199 (1920).

SHAKESPEARE AND MORLEY AGAIN. For one who has given special attention to the songs in Shakespeare's plays, it is an unpleasant obligation to point out that the article on "Shakespeare and Thomas Morley" (*MLN*, January, 1950) seeks to revive a snake which has been scotched often enough to have been killed long ago. Only one established fact is involved here; the rest is to a small degree mere probability, to a larger extent a bare possibility, and for the most part sheer impossibility.

For some reason the less critical discussions about Shakespeare tend to be peculiarly liable to the old logical fallacy of "the Undistributed Middle." The Bacon controversy grew out of one false syllogism: "Shakespeare's plays were written by a great man; Bacon was a great man; therefore Shakespeare's plays were written by Bacon." In like fashion the arguments for Morley's influence on Shakespeare stem from similar root: "Shakespeare's plays show some collaboration with an Elizabethan musician; Morley was an Elizabethan musician; therefore Shakespeare's plays show some collaboration with Morley." It is a recorded fact that Morley and Shakespeare resided in the same ward for a time. It is considered probable that they were acquainted. There the case for Morley's collaboration with Shakespeare comes to an abrupt end.

As for the assumption that Shakespeare and Morley collaborated in writing "O Mistress Mine" and "It Was a Lover," no competent musical authority in the last generation has held any such view. As recently as twelve years ago I had occasion to ask for the opinions of all the leading men in the field, and found that they were of the same opinion on this subject.¹ Morley's "Mistress Mine" has a different set of words from Shakespeare's; his "O Mistress Mine" has no indicated words, but as the late Philip Heseltine ("Peter Warlock") wrote, "There is no authority whatever for associating Shakespeare's poem with this tune; the words do not even fit the music, which is metrically of a quite different construction."² Even for Morley's "It Was a Lover," printed in 1600, we have no way of knowing how a confused and inferior version got into the first printed text of *As You Like It* twenty-three years later. It might have been as an interpolation (like virtually all the songs in Lyly's plays in the 1632 edition, and like the best song in Heywood); it might have been as a borrowing at an earlier period. On the evidence we now have the only thing that is sure is that Morley's printed text is as much better than Shakespeare's as it is earlier.

The new argument offered in support of the supposed connection between Morley and Shakespeare turns on three assumptions: that all or part of *The Taming of the Shrew* was late enough to be influenced by Morley's discussion of the gamut in *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597), that Shakespeare wrote the scene in which the gamut is discussed, and that no one but Morley could have given him the information which he used.

In recent Shakespearian scholarship the trend has been toward assigning

¹ *PMLA*, LIV, 149-52.

² *The English Ayre* (Oxford, 1926), p. 120.

the first comedies to still earlier dates; one cannot speak with anything like certainty, but the balance of critical judgment would be against anyone who sought to put this play later than 1594, two or three years before Shakespeare's supposed acquaintance with Morley or the publication of Morley's book. Again, the consensus of critical opinion (whether rightly or wrongly) still assigns the gamut passage to some other author than Shakespeare—a supposed collaborator who supplied the Bianca subplot (in which case the fact that Shakespeare nowhere else mentions the gamut would serve only as additional evidence against his writing this passage at all). Still further, even supposing that Shakespeare did write the passage and that the date of the play is much later than it is judged to be on other grounds, there is no certainty that he derived the idea of the gamut from Morley alone, of all the musicians in London or in Europe. Lastly, there is no proof that the gamut passage was not interpolated (like so many songs and allusions to music in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays); its connection with the plot is very slight, and it was not printed until seven years after Shakespeare died, in a play which seems to have had a fairly continuous stage history.

From such uncertainties, improbabilities, and impossibilities, no conclusion can fairly be drawn except the one cogently stated by the accepted authority on Morley: "there is no evidence whatever to show that Morley & Shakespeare 'collaborated.'"³

JOHN ROBERT MOORE

Indiana University

BESPRECHUNG EINE GEWISSENSACHE. Gedanken zur Rezension meines Buches über "die freien Rhythmen." Der Dichter steht nicht am Rande eines Geschehens, sondern mitten darin. Dementsprechend soll der Forscher und Kritiker die inneren Spannungen aufdecken, d. h. die gesamte Verflochtenheit des inneren und äusseren Erlebnisses, aus deren Umformung die dichterische Aussage gestaltet wird. Obwohl das obige Werk grundsätzlich aus eingehenden Formanalysen erwachsen ist, in denen die innere Architektur "frei-rhythmischer" Gedichte von Klopstock, Goethe, Hölderlin, Nietzsche, Trakl u. a. blossgelegt werden soll, so war dabei jedoch der Blick auch auf die zeit- und ortgebundene Entwicklung gerichtet. Im Vordergrund der Arbeit steht das Formproblem, denn es gibt keine Kunst ohne Form; aber selbst die letzte Einheit von dichterischer Schau und symbolhafter Gestalt bleibt verkettet mit dem schöpferischen Ur- und Umgrund.

Darüber mögen sich die Meinungen trennen. Wem jedoch "Besprechung eine Gewissenssache" ist, von dem darf der Leser ebenso wie der besprochene Verfasser Gewissenhaftigkeit und bereitwilliges Einfühlen in des anderen Gedankengang erwarten, selbst wenn dem Richter des Werkes die Methode oder das einschlägige Gebiet wesensfremd bzw. unbequem ist. Kritik, die sich lediglich nach eigenen, sich selbst zurechtgezimmernten Mustern richtet, urteilt über sich selbst ab und ist wertlose Selbstbefangen-

³ Dr. E. H. Fellowes, in a letter to me (Jan. 9, 1938).

heit. Es ist kaum nötig, in diesem Zusammenhang auf Goethes *Xenie* oder auf Hölderlins Spruch hinzuweisen, um die Relativität aller Kritik zu bestätigen. Meine Forschung über logische Reihung und Bildform wird völlig ignoriert (s. bes. A. Holz)!

Es sei mir hier gestattet, einige absichtliche bzw. unabsichtliche Missdeutungen (*MLN.*, Febr. 1950, S. 127 ff.) meines Buches zu berichtigen, das aus einer mehr als zwanzigjährigen Einzelforschung über die "freirhythmische" Lyrik hervorgegangen ist und sich den Lesern als "erster umfassender Versuch auf einem höchst umstrittenen Gebiete" einführt.

Für den Rezensenten bestehen viele darin angerührte Probleme überhaupt nicht, wenn er z. B. "reguläres Metrum" für Goethes "Auf dem See" beansprucht oder nicht weniger selbstherrlich (wohl auf Grund logischer Richtungen) bei Mörikes "Denk' es, o Seele" den jambischen Fünfheber zugrundelegt. Das Ohr- bzw. Augenbild innerhalb einer Verszeile, die Wechselwirkung zwischen Sprache, Klang und Sinn, ist jedoch einem so feinfühlenden Formkünstler wie Mörike eher zuzumuten als der äusserliche, schematische "Behelf für den Leser"!

Wenn sich der Rezensent zum Richter der inneren und äusseren Ordnung meines Buches erhebt und gelegentlich auch Druckfehler ankreidet (der Verfasser ist sich mancher Mängel selbst nur allzusehr bewusst!), so darf doch der Gerichtete zumindestens fordern, dass wenigstens sein eigener Name richtig wiedergegeben und seine eigenen Worte nicht verdreht und die Zitate nicht verschlampt werden: S. 129 "Währenddem" . . .; auf Seite 81 ("Fr. Rh.") findet sich ein angegebenes Zitat nicht, vielmehr auf S. 31; warum fiel der wesentliche Nebensatz "obwohl sich die Begriffspaare nicht immer decken"—weg? Vor allem aber, warum diese Schulmeisterei, wenn der Rezensent an seine eigene schuldbeladene Brust klopfen sollte? Warum wird auf den Vergleich der drei Eisenbahnrhythmen (bei Stadlers "Fahrt über die Kölner Rheinbrücke bei Nacht," bei D. v. Liliencrons "Blitzzug," bei Stefan Georges "Pilgerfahrt") nicht eingegangen? Statt dessen wird der Stil mit einem billigen Adjektiv abgefertigt? Wer je im Seminar jene drei oder ähnliche Beispiele sorgfältig zu vergleichen bestrebt war, dürfte weniger geneigt sein, so dogmatisch darüber abzuurteilen. Gerade am sachlichen Material hätte eine Auseinandersetzung fruchtbar werden können.

Leider artet jedoch der Hauptteil der Rezension in Nörgelei aus, besonders mit Hinblick auf die chronologischen Tabellen, die doch nur als unverbindliche, gelegentliche Zahlenstützen gedacht waren, also ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit. Überdies werden die "Nordseebilder" sogar mit Daten an die Spitze einer eigenen Einzeluntersuchung gestellt (S. 131)! Wozu also der Lärm? Warum wird alles im Buche *Wesentliche* übergangen?

Als Verfasser bin ich' allen ernstesten Kritiken dankbar, die auf Wesensfragen des hier gestellten Themas eingehen: z. B. in "Scrutiny" (Cambridge), "Museum" (Leiden), "Göttinger Universitätszeitung," "Mercure" (Paris), "Modern Language Quarterly" (Seattle), "Wiener Literarisches Echo" u. a. Von diesen konnte ich lernen, denn alle diese suchten, trotz methodisch verschiedener Einstellung, der Eigenart des Werkes nachzuspüren und dem Wert der ideengeschichtlichen Einordnung der "freien Rhythmik" Studien gerecht zu werden; einige darunter wünschten noch

dazu eine problemgeschichtliche *Ergänzung* und *Untergründung* sowie eine verstärkende Betonung mitmenschlichen Zusammenhanges! Mir war jedenfalls darum zu tun, ein Einzelphänomen im Spiegel der geistesgeschichtlichen Situation und der literarischen Anregung aufzuweisen.

AUGUST CLOSS

University of Bristol

MALLARMÉ'S LETTER TO MRS. WHITMAN: A CORRECTION. The letter from Stéphane Mallarmé found in the Houghton Library of Harvard University and printed, with explanatory comment, by Mr. Robert J. Niess in the May 1950 number of *MLN* (LXV, 339-341) is not the original holograph of Mallarmé, as Mr. Niess implies, but a literal translation into English by the addressee, Mrs. Sarah Helen Whitman. During a visit to Cambridge several years ago, I examined the letter in the Houghton Library and recognized the handwriting as that of Mrs. Whitman. Anyone familiar with the beautiful and distinctive calligraphy of Mallarmé would hardly confuse it with the thin scrawl of the "Seeress of Providence." The error of attribution made by Mr. Niess may be partially explained, however, by the fact that the letter is incorrectly described in the catalogue of the Houghton Library as a "manuscript" of Mallarmé.

Mrs. Whitman's translation was made for the benefit of the Baltimore enthusiast of Poe, Eugene L. Didier, with whom she was in correspondence in 1876. There are numerous items from the Didier collection in the Houghton Library and, apparently, this one became separated from the rest or was filed independently because of the misconception as to its nature.

It should be noted further that another and almost identical translation of Mallarmé's letter, also by Mrs. Whitman, was printed thirty-four years ago by Caroline Ticknor in her book on *Poe's Helen* (Scribner's 1916, pp. 262-263). This strangely neglected work contains one of the most amazing and important aids to the exegesis of Mallarmé that has ever been noted, namely, a translation into English, by the author himself, of the famous sonnet: "Le Tombeau d'Edgar Poe."

I am at present engaged in the preparation of a monograph on the circumstances which led to the composition and publication of this poem. The complete and original text of Mallarmé's correspondence with Mrs. Whitman, including the letter which she translated for Didier, will appear in the monograph, together with other as yet unpublished letters of Swinburne and John Ingram.

W. T. BANDY

University of Wisconsin

LE COCUAGE DE MOLIÈRE. In *MLN* (Jan. 1949, pp. 51-52) I called attention to a hitherto unknown work listed in the *Table du Recueil Jamet* as "Le Cocuage de Moliere, par le celebre racine 1672, (cinq ou six portraits de racine et beaucoup de notes)." The *Recueil Jamet*, owned by

the Bibliothèque Nationale, has been broken up, and no record kept of where the parts went. The various items comprising the *Recueil* are not catalogued under "Jamet," nor does the BN possess any "Cocuage" listed under that title, nor under "Molière," or "Racine." However, I finally unearthed the thing. It is merely Jamet's copy of the well-known *Intrigues de Molière et Celles de Sa Femme* (sometimes called *La Fameuse Comédienne*). This copy is entitled: *Les Intrigues de Molière et celles de Sa Femme* (s.l.n.d., 88 pp.). On the fly-leaf Jamet had written:

Le Cocuage de Molière
ou
les intrigues
de sa femme
(Par le célèbre Racine, suivant
mes Stromates, p. 789 et 1272
avec
la vie de Molière
par Voltaire. 1739
Et son éloge par Chamfort 1769.

The careless compiler of the *Table du Recueil Jamet* evidently chose to transcribe "1272" as "1672" and to leave out the intervening words. As for the "portraits," there are one of Racine and four of other people, including one of Richelieu. As for the "beaucoup de notes," they are insignificant. As for pp. 789 and 1272 of Jamet's *Stromates* (or "Miscellanea" as it is listed in the Dept. of Mss. at the BN) those passages have been amply written about by J. Bonnassies in his study of *La Fameuse Comédienne* prefixed to his re-edition of that work in 1870. He states there his belief—for which he shows some justification—that the book was written by Mme Boudin and not, as P. Lacroix insisted in the preface to his own edition in 1868, by La Fontaine.

ROBERT E. PIKE

Long Branch, N. J.

A CORRECTION. Professor R. J. Clements has called my attention to an annoying slip in my *Universe of Pontus de Tyard* (Cornell Univ. Press, 1950, p. 197, n. 3), where I assigned his comment that "this is a strange choice of illustration designed to prove that one should avoid writing in antiquated tongues" (*Critical Theory and Practice of the Pléiade*, Harvard Univ. Press, 1942, p. 207) to Tyard's list of Roman writers who chose to write in Latin rather than in Greek. Professor Clement's remark actually referred to Tyard's praise of Greeks like Galen and Ptolemy for continuing to use Greek while serving the Roman emperors. My note in criticism of Professor Clements is thus based on an error, which I am happy to correct.

JOHN C. LAPP

Oberlin College

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